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National Portrait Gallery. W. Wissing.

Mary Beatrice, Duchess of York.

QUEEN MARY OF MODENA

HER LIFE AND LETTERS

1658-1718

BY

MARTIN HAILE

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PREFACE

So great is the wealth of material at command in dealing with the life of Queen Mary of Modena that its compression within the limits of a single volume has necessitated a task of selection which has not always been an easy one. Especially has this been the case with the correspondence of the Queen and that of Rizzini and Terriesi, the envoys of Modena and Florence; but I have, I hope, retained sufficient to give an adequate picture of Mary Beatrice, of the development of her character, and the circumstances of her life. I have drawn sparingly upon the Chaillot MSS., which were published *in extenso* in the original French by the Roxburgh Club some years ago, and translations of which may be found in "A Queen and her Friends," by the Countess Rogen de Courson.

My grateful acknowledgments are due for much kind assistance to

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(Photograph by Anderson, Rome.)

QUEEN MARY OF MODENA

HER LIFE AND LETTERS

CHAPTER I

"Dès qu'on a goûté une fois des correspondances, on ne croit plus, on ne se fie plus qu'à cela en fait de témoignage historique. Tout autre paraît artificiel et suspect ; mais, en revanche, pourvu qu'il soit original et authentique, le moindre billet a son prix."

DUC DE BROGLIE.

NOTHING can so make the dry bones of History live, or make us realise any given epoch of the past, as the perusal of the letters and despatches of the actors in its scenes. When the epoch is of such entrancing interest as that of one who bore the fatal and romantic name of Stuart, or was allied to it, the study becomes fascinating indeed ; and, as the frail sheets stir in our hands and the faded ink reveals the hopes and fears, the struggles and intrigues, the restless passions, the cupidity and treachery, or—a faint thread of gold among the meshes of the web—proofs of whole-hearted devotion and self-abnegation, the writers seem to come to life, to move and have their being as they unfold their story page by page before our eyes. We seem to see them in their very habit, as they tell of trivial details of dress and custom, revealing at once the differences between then and now, and the undeviating similitudes which make all men kin. As the plots thicken and the supreme moments draw near, a communicative heat of hope or dread invades the student, and, if it holds him strongly, stirs an impotent regret that he can throw no warning cry back across

1673 the centuries to those who have become so familiar to him; he, alas, knows what they ignored—the full fatality of their blunders, the irrevocable nature of their mistakes. Now and again, indeed, generally among the minor characters of the great play, we come across a man who stands out as if born out of his time, looking upon the events which pass around him as we now look back upon them in the light of our acquired knowledge, and whose clear-sighted appreciations, unheeded or despised by his contemporaries, might have changed the course of history had he been able to impress them upon his fellows.

In the following pages an attempt is made to give the biography of the fascinating princess, the only Italian Queen who ever shared the English throne, as it appears in her own letters and the despatches and letters of her contemporaries. The great majority of these original documents were unknown to Miss Strickland and have never before appeared in English; the rich mine was first worked by the Marchesa Campana de Cavelli, who gave in her *Derniers Stuarts à St. Germain-en-Laye* the result of several years' patient research in the different archives of Europe. This monumental work reproduces the documents in their original Latin, Italian, French, and German, and is therefore inaccessible to the general reader; it moreover remains unfinished, breaking off suddenly while recounting the stirring events of 1690.

The thick vapours with which calumny and misrepresentation had for a century and a half enveloped the memory of Queen Mary of Modena have long since faded away, but the more closely her character is examined, the more it gains upon our admiration and esteem.

In the month of August 1673, James, Duke of York, had been a widower more than two years, his first wife, Anne Hyde, preceded to the grave by six of her eight children, having died in March 1671; and negotiations for his re-marriage had been for some time afoot.

He was forty years of age, and as a youthful soldier under

Turenne and Condé in the days of his exile, and then as Lord High Admiral of England, had established his fame as one of the most intrepid princes in Europe. "If any man in the world was born without fear, it was the Duke of York," was Turenne's tribute to his valour. 1665

During the naval war of 1665 with the Dutch under Opdam, he had introduced the system of fighting in a line and regular form of battle, which was to rule the naval warfare of England for more than a hundred years.

But by that strange fatality which ever dogged his steps, even in the rare moments of good fortune, the victory of Sole Bay—where he "gave example of the greatest courage and conduct," and saw three of his officers killed by one shot, covering him with their blood as they fell by his side aboard the *Royal Charles*—was robbed of its crown of triumph, the complete destruction of the defeated fleet after the death of Opdam, by the cowardice or treachery of a servant, as the Duke snatched a few hours' sleep after the day's fatigues and perils. And although he earned the thanks of Parliament, a "Present of a Month's Tax of the Royal Aid," and medals struck in his honour, bearing the inscriptions, "Nec Minor in Terris" and "Genus Antiquum," the news of that glorious day, June 3, 1665, reached London in the second month of the Great Plague, when men's minds were wholly unprepared to heed or rejoice in a victory which at any other time would have raised them to the highest pitch of pride and exultation.

Deprived of his command by the King at the Queen Mother's solicitations not to expose the life of the heir-presumptive to the uncertain chances of battle, his advice and expostulations against the reduction of the fleet in 1667 disregarded, and a measure passed which brought more lasting disgrace upon his brother's reign than perhaps any other act of his Government, —and to England the humiliation of seeing the Dutch fleet ride proudly up the Thames,—James was to know one more brief hour of triumph and unquestioned popularity before the passing of the Test Act (devised, according to some, for the

1672 very purpose of catching his conscience) caused him to relinquish his office. The victory of Southwell Bay (1672) over de Ruyter, perhaps one of the most stubborn battles in our naval annals, was mainly due to him. "The Duke of York himself," writes Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who was present, "had the noblest share in this day's action; for when his ship was so maimed as to be made incapable of action, he made her lye by to refit, and went on board another that was hotly engaged, where he kept up his standard until she was disabled, and then left her for a third, in order to renew the fight, which lasted from break of day till sunset." From the *Prince* to the *St. Michael*, from the *St. Michael* to the *London*, as they gave way beneath his feet, James's last naval battle was worthy of his fame.

In laying down his staff, he may have reflected somewhat bitterly upon the contrast with the days when he, a Protestant, fought unquestioned in the service of his kinsman the King of France under Turenne, himself a Protestant, into whose strong hands the destinies of his country and his king had been placed by the enlightened policy of a Mazarin. Echard, who published his history of England but a few years after James's death, speaking of the period between 1665 and 1673 mentions—"Great joy and felicity . . . and what added to the happiness was that the King was never the least jealous of him or his Actions, a thing very rare between two Brothers of that Rank. In this State of Felicity the Duke continued for some years, wanting neither the Favour of the Prince, nor the Respect of the People; till first the Suspicion, and then the Discovery of his Religion which happen'd about six Years after, did very much withdraw the Love and Affections of Men from him, and gave the first Schock to all his great Prosperity."

Under these circumstances the re-marriage of the Duke of York was a matter of capital importance both to his friends and his foes; the latter not hesitating to urge upon the King the advisability of divorcing Catherine of Braganza, or even of marrying a second wife; Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Sarum,

in an elaborate judgment deciding that barrenness in the woman furnished in certain cases a lawful cause for polygamy or divorce, the paper concluding :—"I see nothing so strong against polygamy as to balance the great and visible imminent hazards that hang over so many thousands, if it be not allowed." The Bill passed the House of Lords by a majority of two, and then the native sense of honour of the King, never entirely stifled under the weight of his frivolities and weaknesses, his respect for his wife and his affection for his brother came to his aid, and he refused to avail himself of the proffered benefit. His hesitation in furthering James's marriage also disappeared, and the negotiations to find a suitable bride were pushed forward. 1673

In the latter part of the seventeenth century the importance of royal matrimonial alliances was still such as we may have some difficulty in realising ; the reigning families represented the nations over which they ruled in a very literal fashion, and a marriageable daughter was an instrument of possible aggrandizement and power which made her a valuable possession to her House and her country. Irrespective of the religious difficulty which added its own intensity to the debates, the marriage of the presumptive heir to the Crown of England let loose a flood of intrigue, speculation, treaties, and negotiations, the recital of which in their entirety would fill a volume. But, as they have been preserved to us, they are so characteristic of their time, so representative of the various personages and parties engaged in them, that we produce sufficient to make our picture of this particular alliance complete and clear.

A list of eleven princesses had been drawn up, of whom five were for various reasons promptly eliminated, leaving the choice among the following six :—the beautiful Archduchess Claudia Felicitas of Innspruck, the Princess Eleonore Magdalen of Neubourg, the Princess Mary Ann of Würtemberg, the Princess Mary Beatrice of Modena, the Duchess of Guise, and Mademoiselle de Retz. Already in the month of February, after protracted negotiations, Henry Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough, the Duke of York's Groom of the Stole, and

1673 his ever faithful and devoted servant, had been appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to arrange the terms of a proposed marriage with the first-named princess. The Emperor Leopold, it was rumoured, had hindered the progress of the negotiations with a view of securing this famous beauty for himself, in case the illness of the Empress terminated fatally; and here we take up Lord Peterborough's own account contained in his *Succinct Genealogies*, published under the pseudonym of Halsted, in 1685–1690, premising only that the Duke of York entirely objected to marry any but a beautiful princess; good looks were an essential qualification for his future wife:—"March 16 (1673). Did depart to fetch Duchess of Innspruck, with jewels for her of £20,000 value of the Duke's particular Cabinet." At Calais he receives the news that the Empress is dead, and "the long treaty of Innspruck broken off by reason the Emperor is now determined to have that Princess for himself." Peterborough then goes to Paris, and hears from the Duke of York that four wives have been proposed. He is to try and see them or their pictures, and make "most impartial relations of their Manners and Dispositions." He sees the Duchess of Guise, the youngest daughter of Gaston de Bourbon, Duke of Orleans, "for whom he knew his Master had no inclination." Low in stature, ill-shaped, etc., etc., "all the favour of France (a share whereof he might have tasted from the merit of a recommendation to this Alliance) could not induce him to promote a matter contrary to the ends of his trust and the Duke's service. . . .

"The Princess of Modena, Mary of Este, His Lordship could not see; but by means of a Scotch gentleman that had been conversant in the House of Conti, one Mr. Conn, he was introduced into the palace of that Prince, whose wife had been one of the young Princess of Modena's nearest relations, and there he saw her picture, that had been lately sent thither from that Court. It bore the appearance of a young Creature about Fourteen years of Age; but such a light of Beauty, such Characters of Ingenuity and Goodness as it surprised the

Earl, and fixt upon his Phancy that he had found his Mistress, and the Fortune of England. 1673

"An ill picture he saw of Mademoiselle de Rais [*sic*] but being at such a distance[1] (100 miles) as he could not know herself, or have any perfect relation of her circumstances, he sought no further encouragement in that matter."

His whole thoughts were turned upon the young Princess of Modena, with whose character that he might be the better acquainted, by the means of the same Mr. Conn, he got a meeting "such as might seem accidental with the Abbé Ricchini [Rizzini], a man that was employed at Paris in negociating the interests of the House of Este." Rizzini attributes many excellencies to Mary of Modena, "yet he endeavoured to make them useless to us, by saying the Dutchess her Mother's but more strongly her own Inclinations did design her to a Religious life, and that she did seem resolv'd not to Marry.

"This Affirmation was an extream blow to the hopes and desires of the Earl of Peterborough, and of which he was forced to give an account, together with the esteem and great value he had for the Character, that from all hands he had received of this young Princess."

The Princess Mary Ann of Würtemberg, whose father had lately been slain in the war, was living in a monastery of ladies in Paris, in company of several others of great quality, and Lord Peterborough is introduced to a sight of her by Father Gilbert Talbot, an acquaintance of her confessor. She receives him at the grate of a parlour, and he describes her as of "Middle stature, fair complexion, with brown Hair, the figure of her Face turned very agreeably, her Eyes Gray, her Looks Grave, but sweet, and in her Person, she had the motions of a Woman of Quality, and well-bred; But above all, she had the appearance of a Maid in the ripeness of her Youth, of a Sanguine and Healthful Constitution, fit to bring Strong Children, and such as might be like to live and prosper.

[1] Words in ordinary brackets ( ) are in the original documents, those in square brackets [ ] are the writer's to elucidate the text.

1673 Although there was much Modesty in all her behaviour, yet she was not scarce of her discourse, and spoke well and pertinently to every thing."

For some reason both Charles II and Louis XIV were averse to this match, and the Envoy receives a sudden order to proceed *incognito* to Düsseldorf to see the daughter of the Duke of Neubourg. He goes first to the English Embassy at Cologne, and from there with one gentleman, Signor Varasini, and two servants to Düsseldorf. The next day as "Two Gentlemen of the English Ambassador's Train from Cullen" they are received by the Duke. Our Envoy thus describes him :—"Nearly 40 years of Age, of competent Stature, well-shaped, well-dress'd, and of a most obliging behaviour. He had a Suit, after the French fashion of a Grey Stuff, with Diamond Buttons, a Diamond Hatband, and a Diamond Sword; and about his Neck, in a Black Ribbon, hung the Order of the Golden Fleece. He did receive their Compliments with much Courtesie which they paid with all Respect."

Their host speaks of the Duke of York and his marriage, asks where is M. de Peterborough? Is he remaining in Paris after the failure of the treaty of Innspruck? He says he hears the Duke of York is to marry an English lady. They assure him they have heard of no such thing. They then see the Duchess of Neubourg and the young Princess, her eldest daughter. Either from some point of etiquette or from masculine disregard of ladies' dress, Lord Peterborough, who has so minutely described the costume of the Duke of Neubourg, has no word to say of that of his wife and daughter—an omission which we shall often remark in the case of other writers of the period. He thinks they suspect his errand, and the Duchess, not speaking French, makes the princess interpret. She approaches and helps to carry on the conversation—"and with much intention, as he thought, to shew her capacity in that Language." She is eighteen years old, of middle stature, fair complexion, face more round than oval—"that part of her

neck he saw as white as Snow, but upon the whole, at those Years, she was inclined to be fat." 1673

The young princess fails to make a good impression, and the Envoy is impatient to be gone. He closes his description of her with these words, of greater import to his master than he could suppose—"The great genius did not appear, of Business or Conversation (though she spoke aptly enough) for which she has been praised since she came to sit upon the greatest Throne of Europe." He alludes to the untimely death of the newly-wedded Empress, the beautiful Claudia Felicitas, and to the filling of her place, as Leopold's third wife, by this Princess of Neubourg. He could not foresee that sixteen years later some of his contemporaries would believe that she never forgot the Duke of York's slight of her charms, and that she fostered in her husband those feelings of animosity which led him, in James's hour of need, to turn a deaf ear to his appeals for aid.

An express is sent to the Duke of York, with a report of the journey and of the Princess, and a prompt order to go back to Paris is the result. Yet another bride had been proposed, by the Duchess of Portsmouth and her party, in the person of a niece of Turenne, Mademoiselle d'Elbœuf, daughter of the Prince of that name, cadet of the House of Lorraine, but she is only thirteen years of age, and Peterborough dismisses her also as ineligible.

For more than a year the Duke's marriage had been a subject of keen interest to the French Court. The old Cardinal d'Este, great-uncle of Mary Beatrice, had suggested her as a bride a few months before his death in 1672; and in the archives of Este-Modena are preserved letters from M. de Pomponne, Louis XIV's Minister to Cardinal d'Estrées, brother of the French Ambassador at Rome, saying how readily the King would further a marriage with her or with her aunt, the Princess Eleanore d'Este, and urging that descriptions of the two princesses might at once be sent to the Duke of York—"qui se piquant d'être bon mari, veut épouser une belle

1673 femme." A few months later the *Grand Monarque* himself enters the field, and in two letters of 18 and 25 July 1673 to Colbert de Croissy, his Ambassador in London, gives him his secret instructions on the subject:—

Affaires Étrangères, Paris

". . . Of all the Princesses to whom the Duke of York might incline, you are aware that the Princess of Würtemberg is the one in whom I take the least interest, and that not having been able to bring himself to marry my Cousin, the Duchess of Guise, I would with pleasure have seen him enter into the design of taking the Princess of Neubourg or even of Modena; but as I see him determined upon this marriage and upon concluding it before the meeting of Parliament, and that by all you hear it would be a vain effort to turn him from it, I desire that you give him some marks of my friendship in this conjuncture. But this shall only be after a precise demand has been made to you by the King of England and the Duke of York that I should give a portion to this Princess, or that you have reason to fear my refusal were likely to make him accept a subject of the King of Spain, and dowered by that Prince. . . ."

In the second letter the King confirms the first, and puts his veto upon the Duchess of Portsmouth's scheme. After repeating that his inclinations and interest are for the Princess of Neubourg—"I think it for my service that you deter, as much as in you lies, the Duke of York, or the King, his brother, from making choice of one of the first named Princesses" [the two daughters of the Duke d'Elbœuf]. . . . He recommends the Princess Mary Beatrice, or her aunt, whose age, thirty years, accords better with that of the bridegroom, and urges the practicability of getting the negociations completed, and the Princess to England, by the month of October, adding —"As the dowry may be a cause of delay, you may give the assurance from me of 400,000 crowns which she would have at her marriage. . . ."

From this point the Duke of York shows signs of a certain amount of vacillation of will, which, combined with his native stubbornness, added their own complications to the situation. His last letter to Lord Peterborough at Cologne informed him that he would find orders in Paris to demand the Princess of

Würtemberg in marriage and bring her home. The Earl 1673
therefore hastens direct to the monastery as soon as he arrives, before going to his house, and acquaints her "with the orders he had reason to believe did attend him at his House, after the receipt of which he should have but to call her (as he said) his Mistress, and pay her the respects due to the Quality that did attend it. . . . The moderation, which in other things did appear in her temper, was not great enough to conceal her joy on this occasion; and she was not to be blamed, considering the provision it would have been for an Orphan Maid to Marry a Prince so great, both in the Circumstances of Fortune and Merit; but after he had taken his leave and was return'd Home, with what a reverse of Fortune did he meet!"

The agent who at that time negotiated in absence of the Ambassador had orders to watch the Earl's approach to Paris, and give him his new orders before he arrived. By neglect or a wrong turning, he missed him, so he had seen the Princess before receiving letters totally forbidding this alliance, and ordering him at once to Modena. "This accorded with his opinion and inclination, so comforted him against dissatisfaction at so uncertain and changeable a proceeding. He found a way to acquaint the Princess Mary Anne of the unexpected change in her fortunes, throwing the blame on the Ministers of State. . . . Much ado there was to appease a mind disappointed to that degree . . . and though the Earl durst see her no more, yet he wish'd her much happiness, as she did deserve in any other proceeding."

The French Ambassador, Colbert de Croissy, writing to Pomponne on July 31 to acquaint him with the Duke of York's decision to demand Mary Beatrice, concludes:—"I must however tell you that the greater part of this Court is very hostile to the marriage, and that nothing is spared to make it known that this alliance with a house so closely allied with the Court of Rome will cause trouble with the Parliament." Affaires Étrangères

Thus, by the month of August 1673, the Duke of York's choice of Mary Beatrice had been made, the elaborate

1673 instructions and credentials, in Latin and in English, had been drawn up and despatched to the Earl of Peterborough in Paris, appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Modena. The adversaries of the match still persevered, however, and tried to frighten the Duke with reports of the Princess of Modena's ill-looks. Thus Colbert de Croissy writes to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, August 10:—

> ". . . They make the Duke apprehend that he will find the same subject of distaste as in the Duchess of Neubourg . . ." and again to Louis himself that on the 17th—". . . Mylord Arlington assured me two days ago, he had heard it reported the Princess of Modena is very ugly,—*fort laide*—and red-haired. . . . All this, joined to the coldness with which I have lately been spoken to of the Princess of Modena, lead me to fear that however openly the Duke had declared his resolution to marry this Princess, the design might yet receive some hindrance. . . ."

The real hindrance lay in another direction. So far the youthful bride had been regarded in all these negotiations and intrigues as a merely passive agent, and although the Modenese Agent in Paris, Abbé Rizzini, had given Lord Peterborough an "extream blow" in the month of March, by informing him of Mary Beatrice's intention to take the veil, he had evidently soon come to look upon the obstacle as non-existent. Now, however, it was to make itself prominent, even formidable, and two letters on the subject and on her tender age, from Rizzini —which have not been preserved—to M. de Pomponne, were considered sufficiently serious by Louis XIV to make him send them enclosed in one of his own to his Ambassador in London. The same day, August 18, Mr. Conn, the Scotch gentleman who had been instrumental in showing the portrait of Mary Beatrice to Lord Peterborough, writes an interesting letter to Cardinal Barberini, protector of the English at Rome. The Italian copy has softened the signature into *Coneo*. . . . "As to the person of the Duke, there is no reason to doubt of his good-will and resolution towards the Catholic Religion, since he preferred to lay down all his charges in the State than

to perform a simple act of religion contrary to that which he had already resolved upon in his own mind. Certain Protestant Bishops have also tried to tempt him with the offer of a present of 700,000 livres if His Royal Highness would marry a princess or a lady of their religion; notwithstanding all these and other assaults of riches and greatness in the State, he stands firm in his resolution." 1673

Abbé Rizzini's two letters, handed by Colbert de Croissy to Lord Arlington, are by him sent on to Lord Peterborough with the following instructions, which only reach him at Turin :—

"WHITEHALL, *Aug.* $\frac{13}{23}$, 1673.

". . . The said letters are sent to you by His Royal Highness, by which your Lordship will see the Abbot is persuaded the Dutchesse may not soe easily consent to the giving her daughter (as might well have been supposed) for her tender age and (as the Abbot expresses it) other considerations. Rawlinson MS. Bodleian Library A 256 f. 70

Now since there is therein an agreable character given of the Princess Leonore, Aunt to the present Duke of Modena, and that His Royal Highness still persists in the opinion that he should despatch his marriage without any more delay, he has thought fitt by the express to send you letters of Credence for the Duke and Dutchesse and Princess Leonore, the like you will also receive by this occasion from the King but without any variation in your instructions, because they are only for yourself and *mutatis mutandis* will serve for one occasion as well as the other."

The Ambassador Extraordinary, with a train of six persons, has set forth, in the cumbrous fashion which passed for haste in those days, from Paris to Lyons (Louis XIV, in his anxiety for the match having despatched Philippe de Courcelles, Marquis de Dangeau, as a special envoy to the Duchess of Modena), and the following letter from Lord Arlington is sent after him :—

"WHITEHALL $\frac{15}{25}$ *August* 1673.

"MY LORD,

In such an important affair as marriage, your Lordship will not wonder if minds alter upon every respect, when the parties are not neare enough to contract them by their eyes, and a strong *Ibid.* A 256 f. 72

1673 engagement of affection. On the 13th His Royal Highness being informed he could not have the younger Princess for reasons not explained, he sent your Ld^p. despatches to address yourself to the elder. On the 14th being informed again to the prejudice of this elder, he wrote to you to hold your hand and keepe yourself *incognito*, till you could inform him what the person of this elder Princess was. This day, conferring with His Majesty upon the whole matter, they are come to this conclusion : that your Lordship bee directed to goe to the Court of Modena, where it is supposed the Marquis of D'Anjoe [Dangeau] will be arrived before you, but accompanied with so few of your traine and under a false name, that it may not be knowne by anybody but him that you are there ; that by him you cause the mind of the Dutchess Regent to be sounded, whether she will consent, to give her daughter in marriage to the Duke. . . .

If your own liking of the young Princess concurre with the Dutchess's consent, then you are to fall into the first road of your instructions . . . if otherwise you are to withdraw yourself as privately as you went thither, and return with what speed you can to Paris where you will meete new instructions. . . ."

This despatch was crossed on the road by the following letter of the same date, from the bewildered Ambassador :—

"Lions $\frac{15}{25}$ *August* 1673.

Pub. Rec. Office, France, N 287 "My Lord

To my extreame amazement an hour after I had writtene my last, a man comes to my servants and tells them there were too Gentlemen did desire to speake with me from Her Highness the Duchess of Modena. I desired they would come in, which haveing donne, the first whoe calls himselfe Signior Paulo Antonio Nardi, produc'd a letter from his brother whoe, he saies is Chancelor of Modena, which was brought him by an express not too houres before, the coppy wheareof I have heare sent your Ld^p. He said that either that same express had letters for me of the same tenure, or that there were such in the hands of the French Ambassader at Turin,—I told him I did beleve it a mistake and there was noe intimation of that private nature I could take notice of, but should proceede upon my jorney.

But, my Lord, though I make this appearance and that I know I ought not to desist from following my instructions, yett my thinkes it were of too great consequence to the King's honor to have me make such a jorney and His Majesty be soe us'd in the face of the

world. Therefore I will now slaken my pace for three or four dayes 1673
to see if the King of France will send to desire or advise any farther stopp or delay in this affaire, to whom it seemes by this express the Duchess of Modena has sent the reasons of the impossibility of her complyance in this affaire.

If I heare nothing in three or four days I shall certainly procede, and I thinke such a proportion of time had better be lost in a jorney than for me to make a precipitate advance which possibly might produce a repentance instead of a success. . .

This proceeding is according to the best of my judgement which I hope will be accepted from my Lord

Your Ldp's most humble and most obedient servant

PETERBOROW."

After the few days' delay, the Ambassador proceeds to Turin where he receives Lord Arlington's letter of the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{3}$ August.

"This sudden change in the Affair did infinitely mortify the Earl, whose head turn'd round under this variety of uncertainties. But he had but to obey and be patient. And now some days after came Nardi again with new Compliments from the Dutchess, and expressions how glad that Court would be if the Honour was supposed to be intended for the Daughter might be transferred to any other Princess of that family." Peterborough's Memoirs

Happily he keeps on his guard, pretends to be only travelling for pleasure and contents himself with returning humble thanks for the "Honour of her Civilities," for a week later arrives Lord Arlington's second despatch, bidding him adhere to the proposal for the younger princess and, failing her, to return to Paris. He has meanwhile met the Marquis de Dangeau, and halts at "Plaisance on the Po" whilst the other goes on alone to see what he can do for him. Subsequently a carriage and six meets him a mile from Modena and he is sumptuously lodged in a palace, nobly furnished—"three tables, one for himself, one for his Steward and superior attendants, one for his Livery-men and others, nobly provided with plenty and magnificence."

The Duchess Laura of Modena, daughter of Count Martinozzi and Margaret Mazarini, cousin of the great

1673 Cardinal Mazarin and married, under his auspices, at the Chapel Royal of Compiègne—May 27, 1655—by proxy to Alfonso d'Este hereditary Prince and afterwards Duke Alfonso IV of Modena, was one of the most brilliant and remarkable princesses of her day. Pope Innocent XI cited her as a model of her sex, and we shall see Lord Peterborough describe her as "an extraordinary woman." By the untimely death of her husband, July 6, 1662, she became Regent of Modena during the minority of her son, and ruled her estates and her family with rare sagacity and intelligence. That she should have allowed her daughter's inclinations to weigh in the balance against an alliance so great as that with the heir to the Crown of England, alone sets her apart among the rulers of her day, and exposed to the somewhat angry incredulity of those, even among the highest dignitaries of the Church, who were seeking to bring about the marriage.

Of these, one of the chief was Cardinal d'Estrées, brother of the Duke d'Estrées, French ambassador at Rome, and who held the almost unique position in the diplomatic order, of a kind of dual embassy with his brother. In answer to a letter from the Duchess announcing that both princesses, her daughter and her sister-in-law, had decided to take the veil, he writes from Rome 26 August, 1673, expressing his distress and surprise at the news, and at seeing the affair which he had promoted with so much zeal and affection[1] "about to miscarry, by a kind of miracle, at the very moment of accomplishment. . . . In a matter wherein Your Highness, in twice twenty-four hours, has judged that difficulties which you did not know of before, are insurmountable and leave no ground for hope, it would seem useless to insist further." He tells her, however, that she ought to have asked the King of France for a little more time—"in order to penetrate further into the motives which bring these two Princesses, by a somewhat strange coincidence, to the same design." If God has called them by

[1] Letters to the Princes of Modena or their subjects, except when otherwise noted are drawn from the Este archives at Modena.

an absolute vocation to a religious life, he admits that the 1673
Duchess can do nothing but submit, at the same time suggesting that she need not have given way so promptly "before vocations apparently very strong, but nevertheless so sudden and unforeseen," especially in the case of her daughter not yet fifteen years old, and who must of necessity wait a year before being able to engage herself in the condition she desires.

Meanwhile the Duchess's reluctance is attributed in London and Paris to Spanish intrigue, and to a hope held out of a marriage with the King of Spain, not yet thirteen years of age. Louis XIV writes two letters to her, and the Abbé Rizzini is charged to convey her answers. Gaspard Rizzini, a Venetian by birth but long attached to the House of Modena as one of its most trusty and devoted servants, for thirty years its agent in Paris, starts in pursuit of the King, then in Holland, but falls sick of a fever at Nancy, and forwards the letter enclosed in one of his own to M. de Pomponne, in attendance on Louis. He tells him the truth of the matter is that the Duchess of Modena four or five years ago built a Convent for the Nuns of the Visitation contiguous to her palace at Modena, and communicating with it; "the young Princess (naturally inclined to devotion and chiefly through the pious example of the Duchess her mother) by the continual frequentation of these religious, became penetrated with the desire to join them, and this with so much firmness and constancy as to render useless all the efforts made to turn her from it."

Whilst these explanations are going on, the Duchess Regent receives Lord Peterborough *incognito* the day after his arrival. He thus describes the meeting:—"She received him standing against a table, with much courtesie." She objects her daughter's youth and aversion to marriage and desire for a religious life, also marriage with a Prince "not declared of the same Church, let the Opinion of his true Faith be what it would." In the end she promises to let him see Mary Beatrice the next evening.

The young Princess—Mary Beatrice Anne Margaret Isabel,

1673 was at this time not quite fifteen years old, having been born October 5, 1658, and although, in the words of her future husband, "she had been bred so simple" that she had never heard of England or of him, she ranked nevertheless among the accomplished princesses of her day. With a good knowledge of Latin, great fluency in writing both French and Italian, she was quickly able to write English which would compare favourably with that of her future step-daughters, and her mother had early trained her to habits of courage and self-control which, in time to come, would stand her in good stead. Intelligent, high-spirited and ready of wit, she was prepared to defend herself and her cause with a firm frankness remarkable for her years, and the period in which she lived.

Peterborough's Memoirs

After the first compliments Lord Peterborough tells her that her picture and much more herself have convinced him that marriage with her—"was the only way to make happy a Prince, whose Love and Application, when she came to know him, would be well able to make amends for what she might now in a measure esteem a sufferance. She answered with a little fierceness, That she was obliged to the King of England and the Duke for their good opinion; but she could not but wonder why from so many Princes (*sic*) of more merit, who would esteem that Honor and be ready to embrace it, they should persist in endeavouring to force the Inclinations of another, for whom it was impossible to agree to a proposition of that nature, and that had vow'd herself, as much as was in her power, to another sort of life, out of which she could never think she should be happy. She desired His Excellency, and even as he thought, with Tears in her Eyes, That if he had interests in his Masters, he would oblige her, by endeavouring yet to divert any further persecution of a Maid, who had an invincible aversion for marriage. There were Princesses enough, she said, in Italy, and even in that House, that would not be unworthy so great an Honor, and that from the esteem they might have thereof, would deserve it much better than she could do.

"The Earl began to be a little peek'd, at expressions he thought something too earnest in opposition of what he did desire. He told her then, he begg'd her pardon, if he could not obey her; he might have been induc'd to it before he saw her, but it was now impossible. He could not believe, from what he perceived of her, That she was made for other end than to give Princes to the World, which should honor it with Characters of high Virtue and Merit; that his Country had need of such, and he would now hazard the offending her by persisting in his demand; since if he did incur her indignation, he was sure at last she would not own it, because it would prove to be, for making her one of the most happy Princesses in Europe. 1673

"The Princess Mary of Este appear'd to be at this time about Fourteen years of Age; she was tall, and admirably shaped, her Complexion was of the last fairness, her Hair black as Jet, so were her Eyebrows and her Eyes; but the latter so full of light and sweetness so they did dazzle and charm too. There seemed given unto them from Nature, Sovereign Power; power to kill and power to save; and in the whole turn of her Face, which was of the most graceful oval could be framed, there was all the Features, all the Beauty, and all that could be great and charming in any humane Creature. . . . This Princess seem'd unsatisfied for all he could say."

The next day he complained to Nardi, who assured him "the Ladies of Italy, when it came to be in earnest, were to have no will, but that of their Friends, and her mother satisfied, she would soon be brought to a more difficult matter if she thought fit."

The Duchess Laura was not so ready to coerce her daughter as her Chancellor implied, and the autocratic Louis XIV was more ready to give way than were his ambassadors and agents. In a long letter—for he was in truth his own Prime Minister—to Colbert de Croissy, his Ambassador in London, while sending him the Duchess's letter to be shown to Charles II and the Duke of York, he accepts and examines the new situation Affaires Étrangères

1673 created by Mary Beatrice's refusal, and returns to his old suggestions of the Princesses of Neubourg and Würtemberg, while Pomponne, by his order, writes to the Marquis de Dangeau, September 7, 1673, to recall him, courteously regretting the unnecessary trouble he has been at.

No efforts, however, are left untried by the French agents; Cardinal d'Estrée's hints at the anger of the King of France if the negotiations come to nothing, and another Cardinal—Altieri—nephew of Pope Clement X, enters the field and writes to Father Galimberti, confessor of the Duchess Laura, to tell him with what satisfaction the Holy Father had heard of the departure from Paris of the Ambassador Extraordinary. "It has been notified here that all the prerogatives of liberty conceded to the late Queen Mother, and to the reigning Queen, will be accorded to the Princess. With the other singular proofs the Duke of York has given of his convictions, all difficulties upon this point should be at an end, and, on the other hand, it is to be hoped that the piety of Her Highness the Duchess will enable her to subordinate her own tenderness to the service of God, and of the faithful of that country, for it would be of the gravest prejudice to them if the Duke of York were obliged to marry a non-Catholic." He ends by conveying the Pope's request that the Duchess will take no steps with regard to her daughter, contrary to the marriage, without first informing His Holiness.

Another voice, the most august of all, was now to break silence. The arguments of Kings, Cardinals, Ambassadors, and of her own family had failed to shake the purpose or convince the mind of the young Princess. Moved by a desire to benefit the Catholics of England, and as much perhaps by the solicitations of the Courts of England and France as by the prompting of his own conviction, Clement X writes a brief to Mary Beatrice, the only instance, we believe, of a Sovereign Pontiff directly addressing a Princess of fifteen years of age. It is, of course, in Latin, but that, as we know, presented no difficulty to her. It is addressed :—

A PAPAL BRIEF

Dilectæ in Christo filiæ Nobili Puellæ Mariæ Principesse Estensi. Clemens P.P.X. 1673

"Dear daughter in Christ, noble Damsel, greeting etc. Since the design of the Duke of York to contract alliance with your Nobility reached our ears, We return thanks to the Father of Mercies who, knowing our solicitude for His Glory, is preparing for us, in the Kingdom of England an ample harvest of joy. Considering, in effect, the influence of your virtues, We easily conceived a firm hope that an end might come to the persecution still smouldering in that kingdom and that the orthodox faith, reinstated by you in a place of honour might recover the splendour and security of former days, an effect which no exterior power could accomplish and which might become due to the victory of your piety, the inheritance of your eminently religious family. You can therefore easily understand, dear daughter in Christ, the anxiety which filled Us when We were informed of your repugnance for marriage. For although we understood that it arose from a desire, most laudable in itself, to embrace religious discipline, reflecting that in the present occasion it opposes itself to the progress of religion, we were nevertheless sincerely grieved. We therefore, fulfilling the duties of Our charge, earnestly exhort you by these presents to place before your eyes the great profit which may accrue to the Catholic faith in the above-named kingdom through your marriage, and that inflamed with zeal for the good which may result, you may open to yourself a vaster field of merit than that of the virginal cloister. In order that the special customs and manner of praying, contrary to our ritual, of the populations among whom you are going may be no impediment to your decision, We shall take care that so great an affair be treated in such manner that no obstacle may arise to hinder the exercise of your illustrious piety. Expecting, from the truly filial observance you owe Us, this great consolation, We send your Nobility, from the depth of our heart, our Apostolic Benediction.

"Given at Rome XIX September MDCLXXIII the fourth year of Our Pontificate."

1673 There is a certain pathos in Pope and Cardinals thus conspiring to send of their best,—the child of a race so illustrious that our Kings are glad to claim a share in its blood,—of more than common beauty, intelligence, and goodness, like a new Esther to try and obtain relief for the fellow-members of her faith; but a measure which may succeed with a single Ahasuerus may be doomed to failure where he is multiplied by hundreds in a Parliament, and by thousands in the ranks of party factions.

Upon Mary Beatrice, the effect of Clement X's words was instant and complete. The proud little head bowed in submission, her surrender was as prompt as her resistance had been steadfast, and she was to carry to the married state those virtues of obedience, devotion, and self-abnegation which would have adorned the quiet haven she had chosen for herself.

The passage in the Papal Brief referring to the care the Pope meant to take that Mary Beatrice's religion should be safeguarded in England, is amplified in a covering letter from Cardinal Altieri to Father Galimberti, and expresses the Pope's desire to have the articles in the marriage contract respecting religious prerogatives submitted to himself. This request spread consternation at Modena, for there were to be no such articles. Galimberti hastens to explain the difficulty in a letter to Monsignor Rangoni, a Modenese ecclesiastic in Rome, a letter which disproves the suspicion expressed in Lord Peterborough's *Memoirs* that Galimberti, being a subject of the Duke of Parma and devoted to him (and therefore to the Spanish interests), was opposed to the marriage.

"MODENA, 22 *Sept.* 1673.

". . . . You cannot easily picture to yourself the emotion caused by the letter arrived last evening, showing the delay in an affair, which Rome had not only approved, but counselled . . . . I must inform you in all confidence it is reported here that Cardinal Altieri's letter to me having got known in Rome, certain persons of the Spanish faction, in order to hinder the affair for political reasons, have employed some official at the Palace, if not to break off, at least to

prolong the negotiations (which, owing to the coming assembly of Parliament would be equivalent to destroying the whole thing). . . . Our Bishop has shown me a letter from Cardinal Altieri in which His Eminence desires that the articles touching religion should be sent to Rome, and although his Lordship has written in reply, I think it as well to submit two points for consideration, on which all the good to be hoped for in England depends—1st on the marriage taking place before the meeting of Parliament, so that there may be no chance of preventing it; 2nd to do nothing which may breed umbrage in the Parliament, which in matters of religion has a hundred open eyes. *The first motive* compels extreme haste in celebrating the marriage and getting the bride to England before the opening of Parliament . . . the 23rd October; *the second* obliges Milord Peterborough to do nothing which may cause jealousy in the said Parliament, and therefore he dares not introduce any clauses concerning religion. But verbally, and in the name of his King, from whom he holds the most ample powers, he swears that the Princess shall have all the liberty in the exercise of her religion enjoyed by the present Queen, not only for herself, but for all her household. The good which may accrue to the Catholic religion must also appear great at Rome; it does not appertain to me to esteem it." 1673

The ways of Rome are proverbially slow, and it was only natural that for the very reason that he had urged this marriage upon Mary Beatrice the Pope should insist upon the insertion of clauses safeguarding her religious liberty in the marriage contract. This is explained to the Duchess Laura in a letter of congratulation from Cardinal d'Estrées, in which he adds that the Pope and Cardinal Altieri, knowing the importance of haste, recommend that the Princess should start upon her journey, and the necessary papers would be sent after her to some town in France. And the Secret Archives of the Vatican possess a brief from Clement X to the Duchess, favourable to the marriage, but adjourning the concession of the dispensations. It is dated September 30.

At Modena, however, the contracting parties determined not to wait, and the marriage contract, written in Latin, is signed by the Earl of Peterborough, by the French Ambassador

1673 Philippe de Courcelles, Marquis de Dangeau, and Girolamo Graziani. There is a minute and interesting account, written by Guglielmo Codebò, Gentleman of the Chamber and Secretary to the Duchess of Modena, saying how after the difficulties had been overcome, Lord Peterborough left the house of Count Ugo Molza, where he had lived *incognito*, and was publicly conducted, in his quality of British Ambassador, by no less a person than Prince Rinaldo, uncle of the reigning Duke, to the Ducal Palace escorted by a numerous company of horsemen and chariots, to the sound of cannon from the fort and from the city. He makes his state visit to the Duchess Regent, who with her son and the future bride receives him a few paces in front of the ducal throne. "The Ambassador on this occasion displayed a fine and rich livery of English scarlet cloth and blue and white silk, laced with silver, worn by his six equerries and two pages. On entering the throne-room, and in saluting Their Highnesses and presenting his letters of Credit he removed his hat, instantly replacing it again." The Ambassador makes his formal demand for the hand of the Princess in the name of the King of England—"and the affair being already discussed, it was immediately consented to." Codebò describes the procession to the gilded stucco halls of the upper story, where a temporary altar had been erected, and the Court Chaplain, Dom Andrea Roncagli, performed the ceremony, Lord Peterborough acting as proxy for the Duke of York, in the presence of a large company of nobility, who filled three large halls and two rooms, September 30, 1673.

Thus after six months' indefatigable labours Lord Peterborough has brought his master's business to the end he so ardently desired, and he gives an account of it the same day to King Charles.

"Modena 30 *September* 1673.

"Sir,

Pub. Rec. Office, Italy, N 37

I did not think it fitt to trouble your Majestie with those difficulties which made me doubt of being able to obey your last commands. But since I have had the good fortune to prove more successful than I did expect, I may hope it will not be disagreeable to

Your Majestie to know that you have now a sister-in-law that I thinke will be worthy of all the honors you have done her and her family, of which her relations express all the resentment can be expected from Princes, that are really very full of honor and understanding. 1673

Sir, I thinke you will find this young princess to have beauty in her person and in her minde, to be faire tall, well-shap'd and very healthfull. And truly the Duchess her mother has concluded this matter with soe many circumstances of respect to your Majestie and the Duke, as in my poore opinion they will deserve all the good reception your royall and generous nature will thinke fitt to give them. We could not hinder the Duchess accompanying her daughter, but her stay will be very short, of which notwithstanding I thought it my duty to acquaint your Majestie, and when you come to know all the particulars of this negociation if I shall prove to have donne what may be agreeable to your Majestie, it will be the greatest satisfaction of which can be capable, Sir, your Majestie's most faithful and most obedient servant

PETERBOROW."

The same day he informs Lord Arlington :—

"I have been wearied out of my life by the delaye or these circumstances of briefs and dispensations, without which they pretended an impossibility of proceeding. . . . Pub. Rec. Office, Italy, N 37

But at last for the sake of this match, which upon consideration is become deare to her, the Duchess did venture upon frank disobedience, and has caused the marriage to be solemnised without giveing the Court of Rome any further satisfaction. For the part of business it stands thus [here follows an account of the arrangements for the dowry, which is reduced to 300,000 crowns, the payment guaranteed by the King of France, King Charles undertaking on behalf of his brother to provide a jointure of £15,000 a year]. Now my Lord, I hold myselfe obliged to doe the Duchess of Modena that right as to acquaint your Lordship that she has ended this matter with soe much respect to the King and the Duke and given testimony of it by soe many circumstances of magnificent entertainment as since we cannot hinder her comeing, and that her stay will be soe short, she will deserve to be very well received, for the King's honor, and her own meritt, for she is really an extraordinary woman, has a great deale of witt, and sperritt, and I believe wants not good humor if she were in a place where it was the custome to make use of it."

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1673 The news of what Lord Peterborough called her "frank disobedience" was conveyed by the Duchess Regent herself to Cardinal Altieri in the diplomatic letter of a clever woman.—The most benign counsels of the Holy Father and the courteous exhortations of his Eminence have induced her to proceed without further delay "considering the notable prejudice such delay would have caused, and the pressing instances which came to me from Rome," and she announces that her daughter's marriage with the Duke of York has been celebrated that morning "with the free consent of the said Princess. Your Eminence knows with what tender affection I love my daughter, and can freely believe that I have obtained the fullest security for her liberty of conscience and the free exercise of her religion." She then requests him to impart the news to the Pope, hoping it may be a source of satisfaction to him. She concludes with the hope that he will recognise in her action the effects of her obedience to the Pope and singular respect for the Cardinal.

An expression of astonished displeasure was the only possible reply, and the Cardinal makes it in dignified terms, laying stress upon the unprecedented departure from established usage in the case of such marriages, which the Pope could neither approve nor sanction, but only deeply regret, as he had considered the special articles in the marriage contract an indispensable condition for granting the necessary dispensations.

Meanwhile the marriage was an accomplished fact; Lord Peterborough presented the bride with rich jewels from the Duke of York, and especially a diamond ring which she ever cherished and which forty-six years later her son was to give to his bride, the Princess Sobieska. In Lord Peterborough's *Memoirs* he says that owing to the non-arrival of the dispensation the Bishop of Modena did not deem it advisable to perform the marriage ceremony himself,—"so a poor English Jacobine was found, Brother to Jerome White," and pressed into the service. This statement, improbable in itself, is in direct contradiction to Codebò's assertion that the Court Chaplain, Dom Andrea Roncagli, officiated, a statement confirmed in Muratori's

"Antichità Estensi." It is difficult to reconcile the two accounts, 1673
or to think that either was deliberately false; a possible explanation may be found in the fact that Codebò's account is a contemporaneous one, bearing the date of October, 1673, whereas Lord Peterborough wrote some twelve years later. The abstention of the Bishop of Modena is certain, and Peterborough must have had cognizance of the different solutions contemplated in consequence of it, without remembering which had finally been adopted.

The chorus of congratulation which had followed Mary Beatrice's consent was led off, as was natural, by Louis XIV himself in his letters to the Duchess Regent and to England. He tells her, and also the English Court through Colbert de Croissy, that in the bride's voyage through France "il n'y a point d'honneur que je n'aye donné ordre de rendre à la Duchesse d'York," but he has been informed of her wish to travel *incognito* and without ceremony, and there is in the Archives of the *Affaires Étrangères* a circular from the King to all the Governors and great officers of the provinces through which the travellers would pass,—addressed "*Nos Amés et Féaux*," bidding them do all that lies in them to pay her respect, and punctually to execute the Marquis de Dangeau's behests.

Codebò tells us that immediately after the marriage ceremony, and the reading aloud by one of the notaries of the Ducal Court of the marriage contract, "the Princess Mary was declared Duchess of York, then H.S.H. the Duchess Regent and *Madama* (the dowager Duchess, step-mother of the late Duke of Modena) taking her between them gave her precedence, and all the honours due to the royal blood of Stuart." Then the public rejoicings broke forth, the masquerades and comedies which were to last throughout the stay of the young Duchess. We can picture to ourselves the masqueraders passing and repassing under the Italian sky, through the old streets of Modena, each unit of the gay crowd a picture in itself, making up a feast of colour, light, and movement. Lord

1673 Peterborough spent the rest of the day in visits, and Codebò notes that he never wore his hat in the presence of Her Royal Highness.

"At break of day, October 1st, which happened to be Sunday, began the preparations for the Cavalcade. An hour after mid-day, the royal bride started in a superb coach for the Cathedral, accompanied by the Duchess Regent, *Madama* and the Princess Leonore. H.S.H. the Duke, riding a generous steed, wore a suit of brocade, embroidered with pearls and gold, his hat-band and sword-hilt all diamonds. At his right rode the English Ambassador, representing the Duke of York. Then came Prince Rinaldo and the Marquis de Dangeau, envoy of His Most Christian Majesty, and their suites to the number of a hundred cavaliers, who by the richness of their dress, of their liveries and the pomp of their accoutrements raised wonder and delight in the beholders." The writer gives the route of the procession—passing by the magnificent Convent of the Nuns of the Visitation, which one of the two Princesses in that "superb coach" may have passed with mixed feelings of tenderness and regret, while the other was to retire in a few days to the stricter seclusion of the Carmelite order.

Of the banquet which followed, of the order and number of the guests, the bride and bridegroom by proxy sitting at the head of the table, we have the most particular relation, and even of the dishes set before them—"in that magnificence with which the most Serene house of Este has been wont from the most ancient times to entertain in its palaces princes and crowned kings." The chief ornaments of the tables seem to have been the Trionfi, or *Triumphs*, elaborate monuments in paste, sugar and marchpane, no doubt very artistically executed, and all emblematic of the marriage—an Atlas resting the weight of the globe upon an eagle; a Diana taming a leopard; a Neptune in his car drawn by sea-horses, his trident bearing the inscription—*mihi soli obtemperat ut æquor*; two leopards drawing a lady in a golden car, etc., etc. "The last course consisted of comfits and confectionery, but these were hardly

touched by the guests, and as soon as removed, were speedily seized with (I do not know if I should say eagerness or indiscretion) by the *bassa gente* whom the inadvertence of the guards had allowed to enter, but which the generosity of the Duchess allowed. A horse-race, for the victor of which a splendid banner had been prepared, was postponed to the next day owing to the lateness of the hour, (and then won by a barb called *Malvasia*), the guests for a little while went down into the Corso, still full of carriages, and cavaliers, and masqueraders, who, dressed in various guise according to their humour, gave and received no ordinary amusement. The night closed with a ball at the Palace, where the presence of the Princes, the jewels of the ladies, and the splendour of the gentlemen made the night as resplendent as the day." 1673

CHAPTER II

1673 On October 5, which happened to be her fifteenth birthday, the young Duchess of York set out from Modena on her journey towards the thorny paths from which her feet were never again to stray. The boy Duke, her brother, accompanied her the first two days, and was then persuaded to go back. The Princess was dissolved in tears, and Lord Peterborough writes:—"She left her loving and hopeful Brother, her happy and delicious Country, with the kind companions of her youth, among whom she had been bred, and all these perhaps for ever; her Youth and Innocence permitted her not to know whither she was to go, to what kind of port, nor among whom. So compassion was to be allow'd to her tears, as well as her inclinations, and it was enough we could procure her to proceed and to be comforted." The Duchess Regent and Prince Rinaldo d'Este, the bride's uncle, went with her to England, and the travelling party numbered sixty, the Marquis de Dangeau having started three days earlier to await them at Lyons.

The travellers had not been a week on the road when a warning note of coming trouble is sounded by the faithful Abbé Rizzini, Modenese agent in Paris, in a letter to Count Graziani, State Secretary of Modena. He writes on October 11, and, after offering his congratulations upon the marriage, successfully concluded in spite of the Pope's delays,—"attributed here to Spanish intrigue"—he announces that the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Peter Talbot, has been for the last

few days *incognito* in Paris; that it is supposed he has been 1673
appointed Chief Almoner to the Duchess of York, but not to fill his charge until he can return to England, whence he has been banished by Parliament as one of those who had induced the Duke of York to change his religion. His brother, Colonel Richard Talbot ("Dick" Talbot, reputed the handsomest man in England, afterwards Lord Tyrconnel) is expected every day, having been appointed Chief Equerry to the Duchess, and the two brothers will then start at once to meet her. All this Rizzini says he has written to the Duchess Regent, and continues that he has learned other things from the Archbishop, of which he has not dared acquaint her as yet, "for fear of increasing her uneasiness." These are the attempts of the Parliamentarians to induce the Duke of York to marry a Protestant, and the machinations of the Spaniards to make him take an Austrian princess, "having even proposed to make him Sovereign Prince of Flanders, as the Archduke Albrecht had been." Besides these two projects "the malcontents have plotted another and more feasible scheme in view of the succession; viz., that admitting the King will not hear of repudiating his wife, they will show (by means of forged documents, as may well be believed) that the Mother of the Duke of Monmouth, now dead, was the true and legitimate wife of the King, and that therefore the said Duke is the true and legitimate heir to the throne; and these turbulent men say they are all the more sure of success that the King tenderly loves the Duke, (which is true) and that, as His Majesty allowed all that was done by the last Parliament, they flatter themselves he will listen to similar proposals in the next one, in view of his great affection, as I have said, for the Duke of Monmouth.

"All these ridiculous and most odious projects, . . . may be expected to vanish like a fire of straw after the storm of this Parliament is passed, and things return to a state of quietness; nevertheless it is certain that they exist, . . . and that history furnishes examples of similar contests of legitimacy in England

1673 between the houses of York and Lancaster. It is also certain that the present King, indolent and entirely given to pleasure is not much esteemed, that the Duke of York, as more resolute, courageous and intrepid, makes himself feared and therefore hated, and that the Duke of Monmouth alone is beloved.

"I deeply regret that at a moment when I should only speak to your Excellency of pleasant things, I am obliged to hold such discourse as this."

Meanwhile, the bride and her companions were wending their way to England. Codebò, the Duchess Regent's private secretary, kept a journal, in which each day's events and progress are recorded. Only on one occasion—from Fiorenzuola to Piacenza—do we find as many as thirty-five miles covered in one day, except on the river Loire, when the distance recorded is forty-five; and the roads of Italy, France and England must have been much alike, as the rate of progress is identical in all three countries—from twenty to thirty miles a day.

At the very outset there is a little *contretemps* at Parma; the Duke and Duchess do not see the illustrious travellers "by reason of a slight misunderstanding between the two Serene Houses on account of the title of 'Highness' denied to the former by the Duke of York, . . . however all was set right by the courteous conduct of our most Serene Duchess on her return journey."

The daily noted incidents are full of a life and movement long past and gone, of walled cities and their governors standing at the gates to receive their Highnesses. "Who wish to keep the *incognito* of *English Ladies*," says Codebò, and therefore beg for no display of troops, salutes, etc. At Broncio they stay to pay their respects at the shrine of a Saint of their House, "the Holy St. Contardo, son of the valorous Azzo IX, and of Elisa, Princess of Antioch." Here had he died in the habit of a poor pilgrim on his way to Compostella many centuries before, and yet "his head still looks as if it lived." At Rivoli, the favourite country seat of the Duke of Savoy, there is a pretty incident; the gallant Duke comes *incognito* from Turin to see

the royal bride, and serves as her cicerone in the quality of one of his own gentlemen, through the palace and the gardens, shows her his pictures, his horses and his hounds, then mounts and rides away. The Mont-Cenis is happily crossed, the ladies carried in chairs, the gentlemen riding, and when at Beau-Voisin after nine days' travel through his dominions, the Duchess Regent wishes to reward the officers and men, the *vetturini* and the porters of the Duke, "they all refused by order of His Royal Highness whom they dared not disobey." Here the Marquis de Dangeau is waiting to greet them in the name of the King of France, at whose expense the rest of the journey is to be performed, and Dangeau figures as custodian of the young Duchess until her arrival in London. 1673

At Lyons are spent two quiet days, 22 and 23 October, and the archives of the Convent of the Visitation at Modena still preserve the letters written from there by Mary Beatrice to the nuns. The following is the first, simple and child-like, but remarkable for the time in which it was written, in not containing one mis-spelt word of its graceful Italian.

To Sister Mary, Nun of the Visitation, at Modena.

"Lyons, 22 *October* 1673.

"Very Reverend Mother,

I give you the news that we have arrived here in perfect health, God be praised; . . . Mama and I are not only well, but very well, and I am most impatient to have news of you, which will be so dear to me, and which, I hope to God, may be good. On Thursday we went to see the Sisters of the Visitation at Chambéry, and I cannot express the consolation it was to me to be there. I asked for your dear nieces, whom, to confess the truth, I caressed more than the others, and embraced more tenderly, for it seemed to me as if I were kissing your own hands, my most dear Mother. Those good Sisters willingly gave me their portrait, and I promised them mine, and told them I would have written to them, if I had known their names. I must end by embracing your Reverence with all my heart.

Maria d'Este.

P.S. I add, this evening, 23rd—This morning we went to Communion at the Sisters of the Visitation, where is preserved the heart

1673 of my dear father, St Francis of Sales, which I saw with the greatest pleasure and kissed the case which contains it. We saw the mattrass on which he died, his cassock, his cushion, his writing-table.

The good Mother gave me a hand-kerchief of his, which pleased me greatly ; we visited the room where he died, an altar with his portrait above it now stands in the place where stood his bed . . . If I followed my inclination I would never cease writing to you, my dearest Mother, but as it is time to go to supper, I embrace you and all my sisters with all my heart."

A few days later the Duchess Laura writes to the Superior of the same Convent, asking for prayers "that all may happen for the comfort of the Duchess, my daughter, for her comfort will ever be my own." Codebò's journal speaks of contrary winds, detaining the travellers at Roanne on the Loire, but they embark on the 27th. The navigation on the Loire took five days, and must have been the pleasantest part of the long voyage, especially to the young princess, who writes from on board to the Superior of the Convent.

"29 *October* 1673.

"Very Rev^d. Mother,

This is our third day on this boat, and Mama, I, and all the company are very well, the weather could not be better for sailing ; God be praised for all ! My dear Mother, remember your daughter, although she is far away ; I assure you my heart ever remains close to yours, . . . and nothing will ever be able to separate them. Pray to God for me, and make your daughters, my dear Sisters, pray for me. I have many distractions, dear Mother, though I certainly do not desire them ; but without great help from God, I cannot always be recollected, though I should wish to be so.

Mama, I, and all the company enjoy ourselves very well on board this boat, where everything goes on, reading, writing, playing, eating, sleeping, laughing, and also saying our Office ; thus all is well, thanks be to God. Dear Mama, (and I say the words with the voice of my heart) be pleased to embrace all my dear Sisters for me, and more particularly my dear Sister Mary Beatrice.

Maria d'Este, Duchess of York."

Codebò notes "November 1. In the evening at Fontainebleau the country palace of the King of France, where, to tell the truth, except the Princes, we were ill lodged."

The plan of bringing the bride to England before the opening of Parliament had failed, and that Assembly, meeting on the $\frac{20}{30}$ October, lost no time in making known its sentiments. Colbert de Croissy reports its proceedings the same day to Louis XIV. 1673

"London, 30 *October* 1673.

"The Duke of York is much troubled at having received no news of the voyage of the Duchess; it is true that this is the third post we have missed owing to the storm having thrown a great deal of sand into Dover harbour; all the packets are delayed. . . . Although Parliament has been prorogued for a week, and only met this morning for prayers, nevertheless, before saying these, some members of the House of Commons proposed to make a humble remonstrance to the King of England, that it may please him to prevent the completion of the marriage of the Duke of York, and that in future no prince of the blood likely to succeed to the throne, may marry any lady not of the English religion; the motion was carried almost unanimously. Although the Prorogation makes this vote of no effect, nevertheless the intention of Parliament having been manifested, I do not know whether the King will consent to the consummation of the marriage. . . ." With this despatch the Ambassador sends the following *précis* of the petition.—"That divers misfortunes and inconveniences have arisen from such marriages. That they are a powerful means of disturbing the minds of His Majesty's Protestant subjects, and may engage us in such alliances abroad as may cause the destruction of the Protestant religion. Experience has shown that such marriages have increased the number of Papists in this kingdom, and encouraged them. Affaires Étrangères

"That the affections of the people may be estranged from His Royal Highness, who stands very near the Crown.

"That since the opening of these negotiations these people have taken fresh life and boldness.

"That for another generation, and perhaps longer, this

1673 kingdom will have to fight for the supremacy of the Protestant religion against the encroachments of Popery, which may result in dangerous and fatal consequences.

"That the Princess of Modena, by reason of her relationship to several eminent persons at the Court of Rome, might further Papistical intrigues among us, or be the means of divulging our councils and the state of this kingdom.

"That it is generally admitted that contracts by proxy are capable of being dissolved, and that there are several examples of such.

"We represent this to Your Majesty with all the more earnestness that we have not yet the happiness of seeing any issue of Your Majesty to succeed to the throne, which with all our hearts we pray God to send us in due season for the comfort of us all."

Before this serious news reached Paris, the travellers had arrived there—November 2—and been lodged at the Arsenal, welcomed by three Dukes, says Codebò, Richelieu in the name of the King, Vivielle for the Queen, and Plessis for the Duke of Orleans. The King came in royal state from Versailles to visit them on the 4th, and almost every footstep is recorded, how their Highnesses met him at the foot of the stairs and how he led the bride by the hand in remounting them, and sometimes whispered in her ear during the conversation in her apartment. "His Majesty then withdrew with the Duchess Regent into another room for private conference, leading her by the hand in going and coming." The rest of the Royal family, the Court, the Parliament in a body, the Provost of the Merchants and his colleagues with an address, presenting the usual offering of wax and sweetmeats, all flocked to the Arsenal and are duly chronicled by the secretary's pen. At Versailles, the next day:—"Taking the Royal bride by the hand His Majesty conducted her through that superb palace, so richly furnished and especially so rich in silver plate that there are some 3,000 pieces, without counting the cabinets full of jewels. They went through the gardens in a gilt chariot, the King

himself acting as coachman, perhaps in order to give the second place to the Duchess of York, who thus sat beside the Queen. His Majesty showed them the fountains . . . and all the other rare and costly beauties of the place. . . . After a delightful *promenade* they were led to an apartment where a splendid collation was spread. . . . The supper ended, they returned to Paris in the royal carriages arriving at 5 o'clock in the evening by torchlight." Supper must have been served at an early hour to permit of the return to Paris by 5 o'clock, but it must be remembered that Louis XIV's dinner hour was 10 A.M. 1673

Codebò says he omits the names of many grandees for brevity, "but I must not omit the royal gifts of his Majesty, —to the Duchess of York . . . a large jewelled stomacher of the value of 8,000 doubloons . . . a crowned cross, valued at 6,000 doubloons to the Duchess Regent on her return from London, and a jewel of 3,000 to Prince Rinaldo."

A livelier pen than that of the Duchess Laura's secretary also chronicled the bride's arrival in Paris. Madame de Sévigné writes to her daughter:—"The Duchess of York is at the Arsenal, and all the world is running there. The King has been to see her; she has been to Versailles where the Queen gave her a *fauteuil*, the Queen comes to her to-morrow and on Thursday she will decamp."

In the midst of these honours the news of the Parliamentary vote came as a shock. We have no record of the impression it made on the bride herself, whether it raised a momentary gleam of hope, and a vision of a possible return to her beloved Modena, whilst to the Duchess Laura it must have brought a marked increase to her uneasiness regarding her young daughter's future. The Duke of York—with what feelings of mortification we can imagine—had immediately despatched a trusty messenger, Father Sheldon, to Paris with a letter to his bride, which has a special interest as being the only fragment which time and Revolution have spared of his correspondence with her:—

1673

"London 20 *October* 1673.

"I am sending the bearer, Father Sheldon, whom I have appointed your first chaplain, to settle the affairs of your chapel with you; I have also charged him to inform you of what has happened here to-day, in order that you may not be alarmed thereat; he will at the same time assure you that I have all imaginable impatience to have the happiness to see you, and to be able to assure you myself that so long as I shall live, I shall have all the love and true friendship for you that you can expect from me.

James."

He sent by the same bearer a letter to the Duchess of Modena:—

"to inform you of what has happened here to-day; and as it is a matter which has made a noise, and is too long for a letter, I leave it to the bearer to acquaint you with at length, to whom you may be pleased to accord full credence, and you may do me the justice to believe that I am with much truth

Your very affectionate cousin

James."

Affaires Étrangères

Colbert de Croissy on the 2nd November reports to Louis XIV a conversation with Charles II about the Duke of York's marriage. . . . "I represented to him, that having been concluded by his Ambassador with all the solemnity required by human and divine law, it is an accomplished fact, and that his honour and reputation are involved in its maintenance. He told me he hoped that the tumultuous proceeding of the Lower House against the marriage being nullified by the Prorogation, would have no ill consequences, but I see many persons who think otherwise, and who do not believe the Princess would be safe here against the insolence and insults of the people during the Session of Parliament, and although the Duke of York deems it important that she should lose no time in coming to England . . . I do not know whether it would not be better for Her Royal Highness to await the end of this Session. . . ."[1]

[1] "Should she arrive to-night [Nov. 5] she would certainly be martyred, the common people here, and even those of quality in the country, believe she is the Pope's eldest daughter!"—Sir J. Williamson's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 63. Camden Society, 1874.

The question of immediate departure was settled in an unexpected manner. The fatigues of the journey and of her reception, the change of climate and of food had disordered the health of the young Princess, and she fell ill. Louis XIV sends his two chief physicians to consult with her Modenese doctor, and she herself despatches Count Antonio Nigrelli with letters to King Charles and to her husband to inform them of her illness. On the 11th November, Pomponne writes to Colbert de Croissy that the indisposition is slight, but sufficient to retard departure. He hopes she may leave next day, but on the 17th we find Madame de Sévigné writing to her daughter—"this Princess is still very ill with dysentery. English affairs are not going well; the Parliament will not have the match, and wants to disunite England and France; this is at present the grand *pétoffe* of Europe." [Pétoffe in the *Langue d'Oc* means vexation, worry.] Meanwhile the House of Commons had met, November 4, and received the King's answer to their petition, "that His Majesty could not in honour break a contract of marriage, which had been solemnly executed." It was nevertheless resolved that a second petition, of the same import as the first, should be drawn up, that no supply should be granted—unless the obstinacy of the Dutch made it necessary—till the country was secured from the danger of popery and popish counsellors, that existing grievances be redressed, a new test imposed to render the Papists not only incapable of office, but of sitting in either house of Parliament, that the standing army was a grievance, and that (as had been done by the Long Parliament in the time of Charles I) the King should be petitioned to appoint a day of general fasting, that God might avert the dangers with which the nation was threatened. These votes alarmed the Court party, and Charles unexpectedly appeared in the House of Lords in his robes and crown, and prorogued Parliament to the 7th of January. This decisive measure took the opposition by surprise, and Shaftesbury, who had calculated upon the easy irresolute character of the King, and probably

1673

1673 expected to retain his high office while his colleagues should be excluded from the royal counsels, was ordered to give up the great Seal, while a full pardon was granted him for all offences against the Crown.

This turn of affairs caused Colbert de Croissy to let the French Minister of Foreign Affairs know that "the Duke of York awaits the Duchess with impatience, and the King and Queen have expressed their desire to me that she should come soon; I also think she could not come with too great diligence."

The moment she was able to travel, the young Duchess set out for Calais, November 23rd, and safely arrived there in a week's time, with one day's rest at Abbeville. December 1st the yacht *Catherine* escorted by four men-of-war and two other yachts left Calais bearing the bride and her relations to Dover, a passage which lasted from 7 o'clock in the morning till 5 in the evening. "The Duke, attended by only four gentlemen, awaited her, and greeted her (and then the Duchess of Modena) and she, with her beauty and manners so natural and appropriate, captivated the heart of the Duke and of the English nation, as she had captivated the French." Lord Peterborough's account is almost identical:—"On the sands of Dover, the Duke her husband awaited her, and upon her landing she took possession of his Heart as well as his Arms and was thence conducted to her Lodging."

Codebò's Journal

There was nothing in the appearance of the Prince thus awaiting her to touch a young maid's fancy. Twenty-five years her senior, pitted with small-pox, tall and angular, fair-haired, and with a hesitation in his speech which at moments of excitement made him difficult to understand—yet, in virtue of his race and name, and the qualities his friends found in him, capable of securing their undying fidelity and affection. And first among his friends, in the course of time, was to stand in passionate devotion his now reluctant bride.

Codebò tells us that in the chief room of a private gentleman's house at Dover, in the presence of a large number of nobility

and gentry, Dr. Nathaniel Crewe, Bishop of Oxford (afterwards Bishop of Durham) read aloud the marriage contract which had passed at Modena on the 30th of September "then the Company broke out in cheers and loud hurrahs." Lord Peterborough's account confirms the fact that the Bishop merely declared the bride and bridegroom already married, and that there was no re-marriage as some historians have supposed.[1] The King had shrewdly ordered the formality to avoid controversy as to the validity of the marriage, and James himself and Sir William Temple give the same account. Lord Peterborough concludes—"And here the Earl of Peterborough ended this great service which through so many difficulties brought to the Duke the fairest Lady in the World, and to England a Princess of the greatest Example and Virtue." 1673

Three days are spent at Dover "to rest and recover from the effects of the crossing," says Codebò, and three days more, by Canterbury and Rochester, bring the travellers to Gravesend, where King Charles awaits them, on December 6, two months and a day after the departure from Modena. They embark in the royal barges for Whitehall Stairs, and on landing the King takes his young sister-in-law by the hand and conducts her, the Duke of York following with the Duchess of Modena, by a secret door "to avoid the great concourse of people" into the palace, where Queen Catherine stands at the top of the stairs to receive them.

Before the news of the arrival in London has reached Paris, Rizzini, in a letter to Count Graziani, gives an instance of the different methods of the two royal brothers of England in their dealings with men. "The Lord Mayor of London when he had made his compliments to the Duke of York on his marriage, begged him to do him the honour to bring his royal bride to a banquet at the great hall of the City, as is the custom there, and His Royal Highness having refused on the plea of the

1 "The Bishop of Oxford declared the marriage in the same form as was practised . . . at the marriage of His Majesty."—Williamson's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 82, Camden Society.

1673 Duchess's indisposition (but really for other reasons) he was much dissatisfied, and betook him to the King; his Majesty said that he would take the royal bride to the Banquet himself, to the great contentment of the Lord Mayor."

We again turn to Codebò's journal to see what struck him as worthy of note in London, and his pen first describes the mounted Guard at Whitehall. "There, at the outer Gate, stand continually two soldiers on horseback with drawn swords in their hands. . . . At the inner gate another guard of about 150 men . . . here the King habitually resides. The Palace of the Queen is called 'Somerset' and is a good mile distant from Whitehall. There Queen Catherine, Infanta of Portugal, attends to her devotions, spending the greater part of the day in prayer. . . . The singing at Mass and Vespers in her chapel is better than in Italy. . . . The Duchess of York has her chapel at St. James's, but it is a private one. . . . When Her Royal Highness goes out with the Queen or alone, she has two Companies of her Guard, one Infantry which attends at the place to which she is going, the other light Cavalry with red tunics, which escorts her carriage. . . . Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess are saluted in royal fashion, on bended knees, while giving their hands to be kissed." Prince Rinaldo also sends his impressions to his young nephew, the Duke of Modena, relating how they were saluted by the great number of vessels in the Thames. "One can nowhere see the power of so great a king so well as by coming up this river, for the land is not yielding such ready obedience to his authority as does the water. . . . I can assure your Highness that the Duke of York is a most able prince; experience shows it, and I hope in God may show it more and more. The Duchess of York has wonderful success, she is loved with extraordinary affection by her husband, praised by the Court and respected by that evil party of Parliamentarians although they hate the marriage. . . . I think we shall soon be moving hence, because I see the Parliament is furious and determined to meet in January. The

Duke is not afraid. Nevertheless it would not be well that we should be found here. Other matters are going well, but might go better." 1674

The Duchess of Modena was about to leave London and her daughter. She had seen the Court of Charles II, and something of the difficulties which were to beset the young Duchess's path ; but she had also witnessed the affection of the Duke of York for her, and the deep impression her youth, innocence, and radiant beauty had made not only on the Court, but upon the people.[1] Yet it must have been with no light heart, and with no diminution of her original uneasiness, that she bade her farewell in the first week of January 1674.[2] The Duchess and Prince Rinaldo took with them their train of some fifty persons—including one *maître de Ballet*, Monsieur La Motte, and there remained with the Duchess of York, the Countess Lucretia Pretonari Vezzani, lady in waiting ; Dr. James Ronchi, chaplain ; Father Antonio Giudici, confessor, four women of the bedchamber, one page, one footman, one *maître d'hôtel*, and two cooks. Her English household is given in the *Angliae Notitia* (published in London 1676) :—

OFFICERS AND SERVANTS BELONGING TO H.R.H. THE DUCHESS OF YORK.

Groom of the Stole, Countess of Peterborough, £400.
Ladies of the Bedchamber, Countess Lucretia, an *Italian* lady, and Lady Bellasis, £200.
Four Maids of Honour, Mrs. Jennings, £20 ; Mrs. Trevor, £20 ; Mrs. Clarke, £20 ; Mrs. . . .
Mother of the Maids, Mrs. Lucy Wise.
Six Bedchamber Women, Mrs. Katherine Elliot, £200 ; Mrs. Margaret Dawson, £150; Mrs. Bromley, £150; Mrs. Cornwallis, £150 ; Lady Apsley, £150 ; *Italian* lady (Pellegrina Turini ?)

1 "It was hoped her sweete carriage would have abated her enemies ; but there is again most horrid ill verses made of all the Court."

2 "The Duchess of Modena is gone from us much unsatisfied, because all things that Mylord Peterborough promised are not performed (as a free chappell for her daughter and the like)."—Williamson's Correspondence, pp. 104, 106. Camden Society, 1874.

1674 Starcher, Mrs. Mary Roche, £50.
Seamstress, Mrs. Pierce, £50.
Laundress, Mrs. Le Bodrey, £50.
Lace Mender,
Secretary, Mr. Coleman, £100.
Two Gentlemen Ushers, each £80.
Four Gentlemen Waiters, four Pages of the Backstairs, each £40.
Master Cook, £40.
Necessary Woman, £40.
Eighteen Watermen, each £2.
Master of the Horse to the Duchess is the Earl of Roscommon, £266 13*s.* 4*d.*
Two Escuyries, £100 each.
Eight Footmen, £39 each.
Four Coachmen, each £78 for themselves.
Postillions and Helpers, five Grooms, each £32 5*s.*
Two Chairmen, each £39.

Immediately after her mother's departure, the young Duchess writes to her old friend the Superior of the Visitation at Modena.

"London 8 *January* 1674.

"Most Reverend Mother,

Archives Visitation Convent, Modena

I am in very good health, dear Mother, thank God, but I cannot yet accustom myself to this state of life, to which, as you know, I have always been averse; therefore I cry a good deal and am much afflicted, not being able to rid myself of melancholy; however, God be praised, this is my cross!

May it be a consolation to you, dear Mother, to know (and I say it to the glory of God) that the Duke is a very good man and wishes me well—[she uses the pretty Italian—*mi vuole un gran bene*] and would do anything to prove it to me; he is so firm and steady in our holy religion (which as a good Catholic he professes) that he would not leave it for any thing in the world and in my affliction (which is increased by the departure of my dear Mama) this is my consolation. . . .

I remain, for ever, your true and affectionate daughter,
Maria d'Este, Duchess of York."

The same day she wrote a letter to Pope Clement X. It 1674
will be remembered that in their haste to get the marriage solemnised before the meeting of Parliament the Duchess of Modena and the Earl of Peterborough had dispensed with the Pope's Dispensation, which he had refused to accord until satisfied that the bride's religion would be free and untrammelled. He had asked that the stipulations regarding this freedom in the marriage-contract might be submitted to him, but as we have also seen, out of fear of Parliament no such stipulations were inserted. As regarded the Duke of York, the fact of his being of the same religion as his wife, though not openly so, made them in reality unnecessary, but the Pope was too well informed of the state of things in England not to feel an uneasiness, which his own share in urging the Princess into the marriage no doubt accentuated, and after the accomplishment of the marriage he applied to the Duchess of Modena and to the King of France for a guarantee that the young Duchess enjoyed full liberty for herself and her household in the exercise of her religion. The Duke of York had therefore written to Louis XIV, 18 December, 1673, assuring him that his wife did actually enjoy the same privileges as the Queen, and that the King, his brother, "would have the same care of her and her servants as he had of the Queen and hers;" though we have seen that instead of the stipulated public chapel, Charles only allowed her a private one, and it is said that he persuaded the Queen to claim the Chapel of St. James as hers, so as to get out of the difficulty,—a measure which caused some little friction between the two royal ladies.

Although no dispensation as for a mixed marriage was necessary, the Duchess of York was too faithful a subject of the Pope not to desire that the usual Apostolic Benediction on her union should no longer be withheld—"now that in virtue of my obedience to the counsels and command of Your Holiness, I am united to the Duke of York, my lord and consort, I come, as a devout daughter of the Church, to pray for the Apostolic

Copy In Archives Este, Modena

1674 Benediction on my marriage, as upon a work accomplished at the hands of Your Holiness. . . "

Louis XIV wrote a stately letter to the Pope to the same effect, and the Papal Benediction was conferred in a Brief still preserved in the Archives of the Vatican, dated 16 March, 1675, after more than a year's delay.

King Charles gave his testimony to his young sister-in-law's success in a gallant letter to the Duchess of Modena in answer to her announcement of her safe return to her own country.—

Rawlinson MSS. Bodleian Library A. 269f. 7a

"As for your reception here, of which you assure me you still bear remembrance, be assured that for a climate as cold as ours, it yet wanted none of the warmth of a sincere affection. And as for the Duchess of York, besides being your daughter, and now my sister-in-law, her rare virtues and conversation engage me to give her greater and greater marks of affection and esteem, which I shall ever continue to her,—as to you all my wishes for the increase of your prosperity."

A silver medal was struck in honour of the marriage. Mary Beatrice was sung by the poets. Old Waller, in presenting her with a copy of his verses, thus addressed her :—

"Thus we writ then, your brighter eyes inspire
A nobler flame, and raise our genius higher;
While we your wit and early knowledge fear,
To our productions we become severe;
Your matchless beauty gives our fancy wing;
Your judgement makes us careful how we sing;
Lines not composed, as heretofore in haste,
Polish like marble, shall like marble last.
And make you through as many ages shine,
As Tasso has the heroes of your line;
Though other names our wary writers use,
You are the subject of the British Muse;
Dilating mischief to yourself unknown,
They write, and die of wounds they dare not own!"

The Duchess ordered him to write some lines in her own copy of Tasso, and he is said by Fenton to have kept them a whole summer under correction, obeying his own injunction to make them "polished like marble."

"Tasso knew how the fairer sex to grace; 1674
But in no one durst all perfection place:
In her alone that owns this book, is seen
Clorinda's spirit, and her lofty mien,
Sophronia's piety, Erminia's truth,
Armida's charms, her beauty and her youth.
Our Princess here, as in a glass, does dress
Her well-taught mind, and every grace express.
More to our wonder than Rinaldo fought,
The hero's race excels the poet's thought."

When Parliament met after the Prorogation—7 Jan. 1674—it was in no tenderer mood towards the marriage of the Duke of York, and if the young Duchess ever entertained any hopes that her presence in England might bring some alleviation to her co-religionists, they must have been quickly dispelled. The removal from office of all counsellors "popishly affected or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous" was voted at once, and enquiry to be made, among other things, as to who had advised the marriage and the prorogation of last November? "Let them be incapacitated from inflicting new injuries on the nation." There was but one way, and that second to none, in which Mary Beatrice could uphold the credit and dispel the ignorant contempt and fear of her religion—by being in herself the example and charming embodiment of every virtue in a Court where vice seems to have reigned almost supreme—and not in her closet, immersed in perpetual prayer like the disheartened and neglected Queen—but strong in the support of her husband's affection, (which, if even then, unknown to her, it was shared by baser objects, at least gave her no open cause of jealousy or doubt,) in the intelligent high-spirited pursuit of all good things. The satisfaction was hers for the present of procuring to her own immediate household the exercise of their religion, and we shall see her exerting herself to get protection and asylum abroad for English maidens with a vocation to a religious life, and to obtain advantages for her own country and her kin.

The Court of the Duke of York, as indeed it had been in the

1674 time of his first wife, was smaller but more choice than that of the King, a fact which Charles himself was the first to acknowledge without a particle of jealousy. In the Comte de Gramont's Memoirs, we see London described as the most beautiful town in the world, and accustomed as he was to the grandeur of the Court of France, he declares himself surprised at "*la politesse et la pompe*" of that of England. He, St. Evremond and other distinguished foreigners and exiles were *habitués* of the young Duchess's palace, and the words he uses of Anne Hyde may equally apply to her.—"*Elle avait tant de discernement pour le mérite, que tout ce qui en avait dans l'un ou dans l'autre sexe était distingué chez elle.*" She set herself to learn English, and to make friends with her step-daughters—the Princess Mary being exactly her own age—a task which she carried out so judiciously and lovingly, that neither ingratitude nor enmity could ever defend themselves by blaming her. She patronised the arts, and the best Italian artists came to England. Italian opera was first given in England in 1674 as noted by Mr. Evelyn in his Journal, who also rejoices over "the stupendous violin, Signor Nicolao (with other rare musicians) whom I never heard mortal man exceed on that instrument" and Signor Francisco on the harpsichord "esteemed one of the most excellent masters in Europe." All these rare musicians must often have made music for the Duchess, who no doubt played herself, whilst we know from de Gramont that James played the guitar. Play of another kind went on in her Court, and "hombre at the Duchess's" is one of the inducements held out in a letter from St. Evremond to Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Alban's, to persuade him to come and settle in London.

The letters of Mary Beatrice to her mother have been lost; those to her brother were placed in the Archives of Modena and there remain. She writes to him, 21 March, 1674. "*Fratello mio caro*" to give news of her health which is excellent, and the bearer of her letter, Count Cincinelli, the Duchess Laura's envoy to Charles II, can tell him—"how well treated and well-regarded I am here." She impatiently expects

the gentleman he has promised to send with his portrait and gives *rendez-vous*—"if not for this year, at least for next year" to the brother whom she was never to see again. The absence of the Duchess Regent had given the young Duke—not yet fourteen—the opportunity of exercising his authority, and in April, 1674, he announces that he has taken upon himself the government of his Duchy under the title of Francis II, and there is an autograph letter from the Duke of York wishing him success and that he may emulate the glory of his ancestors.[1] 1674

In the list of her household we found—"Secretary Mr. Coleman, £100"—a name which brings the element of tragedy at once into the history of the young Duchess of York. Edward Coleman, the son of a Suffolk clergyman, of good education, had become a Catholic some time previously. Somewhat of a busybody, vain of his abilities, expensive in his habits, he was, it is said, anxious to acquire the reputation of a person of consequence. Five of his letters, addressed on the Duchess's service to the Abbé Rizzini at Paris, are preserved in the Archives of Modena. The greatest enemy of Mary Beatrice's marriage and of her husband was the Earl of Shaftesbury; by his connivance the Commons had been able to vote the petition of November before being prorogued, and the Duke of York pointed him out to the Duke of Lauderdale as the chief fomenter of disorder. It is therefore not surprising that Coleman's first letter should give a short sketch of him to the Agent or Modena—"There is a rumour, (and such rumours are often precursors of the truth) that our King is about to dismiss from his Privy Council the Earls of Shaftesbury and Carlisle, and Viscounts Falconbridge and Halifax. . . . The first was formerly Chancellor . . . and is undoubtedly a very able man, but neither, according to what is said, as faithful or as honest as he is able; he has turned his coat six or seven times. First he was on the side of the late King, then Colonel for the Par-

[1] According to Muratori the young Duke's act was instigated and supported by his cousins, the brother Princes Luigi, Foresto, and Cesare d'Este, especially by the latter.

1674 liament against him; afterwards for the Lower House against the Lords, then for Cromwell, then for Monk, after that for the King's prerogative and liberty of conscience, at the present hour he is a furious opponent of the King and of the Duke of York, and the most zealous defender of the Protestant religion." Equally terse are his accounts of the other three noblemen and their tergiversations, saying of the last (Halifax) :—"He was raised to his honours only a few years ago at the special instance of His Royal Highness, and has received many and great favours from him and from the King . . . and nevertheless he cannot keep himself from joining with the other three to counteract all the affairs of the King and the Duke, and in proposing many things too base and villainous to be named."

A week later he tells Rizzini that the King "has given the reversion of a charge worth £4,000 a year to a Mr. Powel, a member of Parliament who, besides a thousand affronts offered to His Majesty, made the first harangue in the Commons against Their Royal Highness's marriage."

The next letter, after mentioning that the Queen, the Duchess of York and the Princess Mary are all ill with bad colds, concludes :—"Our Parliamentarians are forming great designs for concertation with the Dutch Ambassadors (shortly expected) against the French, the Papists and the Duke himself in favour of the States and of the Prince of Orange, to whom they have already destined the eldest daughter of His Royal Highness."

Whilst her adversaries were thus being catalogued, the Duchess of York continued to gather golden opinions where she passed, in a short country tour with her husband, and later in the year at Windsor, where she assisted, August 21st, at a representation of the siege of Maestricht given before the King and some thousand spectators in a meadow at the foot of the long terrace. "Bastions, pallisadoes, hornworks, counterscarps were attacked by the Duke of Monmouth (newly come from the real siege) and the Duke of York with a little army," says Evelyn, who was present. Another entertainment, to which,

needless to say, the Duchess had not been invited, is described about the same time by the Marquis Cattaneo, new Modenese Agent in London as—"a most singular bull and bear-fight given by the King to prove the courage of his dogs. His Majesty was in a box with his favourite actress *Melguina* [Nell Gwyn?] by his side." 1675

Until disturbed and led astray by the fanatics of political or religious factions, the public mind generally makes right judgment of the persons presented to its view. So it was with Mary Beatrice. Not her beauty alone, but the candour, grace and goodness which accompanied it captivated the people, and when she had been a year in England Dryden could say to her in his dedication of his "State of Innocence"—"You reign absolute over the hearts of a stubborn and free-born people, tenacious almost to madness of their rights. . . . Your conjugal virtues have deserved to be set as an example to a less-degenerate, less-tainted age. They approach so near to singularity in ours that I can scarce make a panegyrick on Your Royal Highness without a satire on many others,"—and Macpherson tells us:—"As for the people, their prejudices were gradually removed by her behaviour. The uneasiness conceived on account of her religion was soon forgot; she was universally esteemed and by many beloved. Her beauty rendered her the favourite of the populace."

All this did not stay the intrigues of her opponents. Rizzini reports, December 26, that the proposals for the King's divorce are renewed, that the Bishops and theologians declare against it, and that the Duke's partizans are spreading a rumour that the Queen is *enceinte*.

In January, 1675, began for the Duchess of York the series of short maternal joys, followed by disappointment and mourning, which was to continue for fifteen years. The Marquis Cattaneo writes to the Duke of Modena, 20 January:—"Last night H.R.H the Duchess of York played *ombre* with the Duchess of Monmouth until 12 o'clock, supped and slept well, received Communion and heard two Masses this morning,

1675 dined with the Princesses, and shortly afterwards gave birth to a fine little Princess, in the presence of the Queen and many ladies of quality. . . . The King, on leaving, embraced the Duke of York with great affection." The child was privately baptised by the Duchess's chaplain a few hours after its birth, and, notwithstanding Mary Beatrice's remonstrances to the King, who explained that her children belonged to the State, was christened in the Anglican Church with the names of Catherine Laura.

The second year of Mary of Modena's married life opened peacefully. Her infant throve and her early aversion for the Duke of York was giving place to dutiful and devoted affection. The King went to Newmarket in March, taking the Duke with him, and there is a quaint letter to Prince Rinaldo d'Este from Countess Lucrezia Vezzani, the Italian Lady of the Bedchamber, giving news of the mother and child and saying "the Duke's absence causes Her Royal Highness a little melancholy: she diverts herself, however, with the Princesses, whose conversation is much to her taste and satisfaction. . . . I think we shall soon see the Duchess of Mazarin in England, which greatly displeases Her Royal Highness, and the Duke also, I believe, but it is not to be prevented; some efforts have been made to hinder her, but she will come." In June, the Countess writes again announcing the arrival of the wondrous beauty:— "The Duchess of Mazarin has arrived, and now nothing is talked of in the Queen's and the Duchess's apartments but the beauty of that lady. The night she went to the Queen there was such a crowd, that it was a marvel to see the quantity of people crazy to behold her."

Hortense Mancini was the most beautiful, the most reckless and the most eccentric of the five nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, who had refused her hand to Charles II, when he was a crownless exile, and had united her to Armand de La Porte, Duc de la Meilleraye, bestowing on him at the same time the name of Mazarin and the heirship to his great wealth. Hortense soon left her husband, and in reply to all entreaties and exhortations

to go back to him—"she did nothing but laugh," says Madame de Scudéry, "and repeat the cry of the Civil War—'*point de Mazarin! point de Mazarin!*'" and Madame de Sévigné can find no words for her but the "*ô la folle! ô la folle!*" of Sganarelle in Molière's *Amour Médecin*. The errant lady had filled Europe with her adventures, and now announced that she was going to England to visit her cousin, the Duchess of York. "This was only a pretext," writes St. Evremond. As the Duke of Buckingham and his party had brought Louise de Kerouaille to England in order to supplant the Duchess of Cleveland in the King's affection, "so now the enemies of the French Alliance thought there could be no surer means of ensuring the disgrace of the Duchess of Portsmouth than by putting in her place a person upon whom they could count. They fixed their choice upon the Duchess of Mazarin. She surpassed the Duchess of Portsmouth in beauty and in *esprit*. . . . She infinitely pleased the King, who gave her a pension of £4,000 a year, and she would soon have defeated Madame de Portsmouth, had she been able to rise above the weaknesses of her sex, and keep a stricter guard over the caprices of her heart." The Prince of Monaco came to England, she fell in love with him, and the intrigues of her supporters had failed to dislodge Louise de Kerouaille from her empire over the King. 1675

The arrival of such a cousin was a grave embarrassment to the Duchess of York, and led to further annoyance. Obliged by the ties of relationship to visit her, whilst she had never so honoured the Duchess of Portsmouth, the latter took occasion to complain to the Duke "that his consort paid her no attention, to which she considered herself as much entitled as the Duchess of Mazarin." To avoid the inference that they patronised the new mistress, James gave way, and took his young wife to call upon the Duchess of Portsmouth.

Meanwhile Mary Beatrice had been employed in the more congenial task of trying to obtain a Cardinal's hat for her uncle, Prince Rinaldo d'Este, a purpose she pursued for years

1675 with untiring assiduity. The Marquis of Montecuccoli, a relation of the celebrated Marshal Montecuccoli, had been sent to England on a special mission from the Duke of Modena, and it must have gratified the young Duchess of York's warm-hearted affection for her family to find that her marriage had obtained certain definite advantages for them. Montecuccoli informs his Government that "the King of England is about to write to his Ministers at all the European Courts to protect on all occasions the interests of the Duke of Modena as those of a Prince closely united to him and most highly esteemed; henceforward no Minister will leave this Court without bearing the same in his instructions. Her Royal Highness the Duchess is esteemed and revered by all, and it would be impossible to express with what spirit she has conquered universal applause. . . . She speaks the language like a native of the country. . . . The Duke her husband loves her tenderly, and does nothing without informing her. The King recognises her great spirit, and esteems it highly." In another despatch he adds: "There can be no doubt that she will be able to take a great part in affairs when she so chooses. Up to the present those about her have not recognised this fact.

"For her personal service, dress, pocket money, play, etc., Her Royal Highness receives £5,000 a year, paid quarterly. Moreover, there is a fixed sum for the maintenance of her chapel.

"The Prince of Orange does not inspire implicit confidence in this royal house; apart from what is due to the ties of consanguinity, I am told that they do not trust him."

The Marquis, on another occasion, refers with regret to the coolness existing between the Queen and the Duchess of York. "Nothing but ordinary civilities pass between them, thanks to the efforts of those who are working for their own ends. The first discord arose concerning the Duchess's Almoner; the story is long, and I shall relate it on my return. It is certain there were those who knew how to seize the occasion, and from hand to hand sowed *zizanie* [tares] between two Princesses who for

every reason of justice and mutual interest should be more closely united in affection than they are." 1675

One of the reasons of coolness was the unfortunate visit of the Duchess of York to the Duchess of Portsmouth, highly resented by the Queen. About the same time we find the first hints of jealousies in high places in a letter from Cattaneo, just returned from Bath, to the State Secretary of Modena :—"Our royal Mistress is hated by some because she is a Catholic, others hate her whilst professing the exact contrary, because they aspire to the throne, while others, women these, because they imagine she has taken the morsel out of their mouths,—that they might have become Duchess of York—people without faith or conscience ! . . ."

On the $\frac{3}{13}$ October the little Princess Catherine Laura died of convulsions. "You were a witness of the joy of my marriage," writes the Duke of York to Prince Rinaldo d'Este, "and you can judge of my sorrow at the loss of its first-fruit by the death of my youngest daughter, the Princess Catherine Laura, which happened last Sunday. I should be inconsolable, were it not that one must submit to the Divine Will . . . and for the near hope that the loss of this child may be compensated . . ." The hope was doomed to disappointment ; the baby Princess had hardly been laid in the grave of her ancestress Mary, Queen of Scots, when the Duchess was seized with illness, attributed to the shock of this misfortune.

The French Ambassador in London, Colbert de Croissy, had been succeeded by the Marquis de Ruvigny some months previously. The fact that at a moment when the Government, with Sir Thomas Osborne, now Earl of Danby, at its head was, in imitation of its predecessors, actively trying to get up a "No Popery" cry, one of the staunchest of Huguenots should have been chosen to represent Louis XIV in England, is interesting in itself ; it also raises the surmise whether there was any latent thought that such an act of liberal-mindedness might serve as a much needed example of reason and toleration. "This simple gentleman," says St. Simon, "was full of *esprit*,

1675 wisdom and honesty, he knew how to unite great uprightness with acuteness and subtlety of judgment and of resource. . . . He served the King well, and was esteemed and distinguished by him."

The Duchess of York had applied to the Pope direct in the matter of the Cardinal's hat for her uncle Prince Rinaldo, and had also written to Louis XIV to beg his influence. Ruvigny conveys the vague and general answer of his Sovereign "that he will always have great consideration for that Prince," and the letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, reporting this answer, gives us an intimation that the Duchess's secretary, Mr. Coleman, received money from him—a fact which need not surprise us at a time when, from King Charles downwards, every public man, with hardly an exception, seems to have been ready to accept presents from France, when they did not also receive them from Spain and Holland as well. "Mr. Coleman . . . is well in my acquaintance, and has reason to be in His Majesty's interest; I shall give him the advice you recommend, and I can assure you he will profit by it. . . ."

The year 1675 was not to close without bringing fresh trouble to Mary Beatrice in the Luzancy affair, when, for the first time, a direct attack was made upon one of her own household. The French Ambassador writes 17 November:—"About six months ago, a Frenchman calling himself Luzancy, and *licencié* of the Sorbonne came here, and made a public recantation of his creed. He preached several sermons, which made him much esteemed, but within the last three days a paper has appeared, written and signed by him, and placed in the hands of Father St Germains, preacher to the Duchess of York, in which he makes full recantation of all he has said and done since he came to England, and protests he desires nothing so much as to return to the Catholic religion. The Jesuit Father, who is a man of good repute, asserts that Luzancy sought him out, and voluntarily, after several interviews, gave him the paper. The other protests that the Father went to his house with five men, and forced him, a poignard at his

throat, to copy and sign the document. The affair makes a great noise . . . a reward of 200 Jacobus has been offered to whoever produces Father St Germains, alive or dead. . . . This is how he has been sacrificed to the people." Later he writes—"The Duke of York going to the King, where there were many people, a certain Malet, a Member of Parliament said to him, in French, these very words :—'Monsieur le Duc de York, leave your idolatry, and put your trust in God rather than in the King of France.' He repeated them two or three times; these gentry, although mad, are held in such consideration that the man only left the room at the entreaty of the Duke of Monmouth." 1676

The name of the shallow precursor of Titus Oates was not Luzancy but Beauchateau, the son of a Paris actress of that name. A forgery committed at Montdidier induced him to adopt the high-sounding appellation of Hippolyte du Chastelet de Luzancy, under which he fled to England. He could bring no witnesses of any credit to support his accusations against St. Germains, or his wild assertions that Protestant blood would soon flow in London, etc., and at the same time Du Maresque, a French clergyman of the reformed Church, published a history of Luzancy's adventures in France. The prosecution of the enquiry was at first suspended, and then for obvious reasons never again resumed. The discredited rogue was, however, still considered worthy of patronage by Compton, the new Bishop of London, whom Burnet calls—"the great patron of converts from Popery," who ordained him and sent him to Oxford. A swindling transaction there brought him before a Court of Justice, but he nevertheless "by favour of the Bishop of London, was made Vicar of Dover-Court in Essex (18 December, 1678)."

Mary Beatrice was too high spirited to accept a supposed slight even at the hands of the King of France; she considered he had not treated her well in delaying to answer more fully her request to use his influence on behalf of her uncle, and also in another matter she had at heart—permission to

1676 found an English Carmelite Convent on French territory for those who could not follow a religious life in their own country. The correspondence of the new French Ambassador, for Ruvigny was succeeded by the Comte de Courtin in 1676, contains many allusions to both matters. ("Courtin—polished, sensible, *fort homme d'honneur*," writes St. Simon, "held several embassies with perfect success. . . . In England, through Madame de Portsmouth he made Charles II do whatever he wished"). Louis XIV, although warned by Courtin that Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador, is making great promises about the hat, and that the Duchess is somewhat offended, regrets he can do nothing about the Cardinalate, but grants permission for the Carmelites to establish themselves at Nôle, and sends a propitiatory offering of a pair of diamond earrings to the Duchess. The instructions to Courtin accompanying the present tell him to cultivate her good intentions, and to persuade her "to take a greater part in public affairs, from which her extreme youth may hitherto have withheld her."

CHAPTER III

In April 1676 the Duke of York took an important step, which his wife announces to her brother :— 1676

" *April* 2nd, 1676.

". . . The Duke my lord, has taken a generous resolution, that of no longer going to the Protestant Church with the King, as he was wont to do—a resolution much praised by the prudent and conscientious, but also much blamed by many, who say that it may do him great prejudice : every one gives his opinion, and nothing else is talked of in the whole town. . . ."

The French Ambassador writes under the same date to Paris— Affaires Étrangères

. . . "He knows there is no one in England who doubts his religious opinions and that a longer dissimulation would be useless for his interests and prejudicial to his reputation. He has communicated his intention to the King who was very unwilling to agree to it. At last he consented, when he saw the strength of the Duke's resolution. To-morrow, Good Friday, he begins to put his purpose into execution."

However highly the Duchess might rate her husband's conscientiousness, the prudence of his step does not seem to have impressed the King of France, who cautiously writes to Courtin that it is an important matter ; he supposes "the Duke of York has weighed the consequences, and nothing having been done without the King's consent, that there may be no unpleasant results." "This was the first time the Duke appeared no more in chapel," notes Evelyn, "to the infinite griefe and threatened ruin of this poor nation."

1676 "The Duke accompanied the King his brother only as far as the Chapel door, which is held to be a public declaration of his religion. . . . its purpose is to obtain liberty of conscience in that kingdom," writes Rizzini to the Duke of Modena.

Instead of liberty of conscience, the Duke's act brought fresh troubles upon his co-religionists. Cattaneo writes in May that in various parts of England the penal laws against Papists are being enforced with imprisonment and confiscation of property in consequence of the Duke's action—"nevertheless, he continues to be visited by the nobility in greater numbers than the King himself. . . . The whole Court has been two or three times to a play written by one of the Duke's gentlemen, in which several members of the Court and the King's favourites are covertly represented. . . . The Duchess of Mazarin is still in London, but her visits to Her Royal Highness are not frequent." [1]

Affaires Étrangeres

In the correspondence of the various Ministers we can trace the signs of the coming storm—"I strongly advised the Duke of York," writes Courtin in June to Louis XIV, "to look to himself, as I notice great agitation in the King's mind regarding him, which evidently arises from the scruples the Lord Treasurer (Danby) instils into him on the question of religion. I do not however foresee that the Duke will retire into the country of his own accord, as he has been urged to do by the Lord Treasurer through the Earl of Bristol," and again in August, on announcing that Danby has at last made him a visit of ceremony, with three chariots and the Mace carried before him—"although the visit passed in compliments he nevertheless spoke of the alarms caused by the conduct of the Duke of York; I casually asked him if the number of Catholics was very large, he said that according to the most careful estimate, there were about 12,000; I remarked *en passant* that they were therefore not much to be feared."

[1] The Duchess never again left England, and died,—the pensioner of William III, at Chelsea—"a village on the Thames, three miles from London," in 1699, "at the age of fifty-three, and beautiful to the last," says St. Evremond.

Pope Clement X.

BIRTH OF PRINCESS ISABEL

On September 7, 1676, the Duchess of York gave birth to a daughter, who was to gladden the next four years of its mother's life—that little span to be the longest vouchsafed to any of the royal children until 1688. "All passed so quickly," writes Countess Vezzani to old Prince Cesare d'Este, "that the King and Queen, though warned at once, did not arrive in time. . . . Her Royal Highness was a little disappointed at the sex of the child, but the Duke told her with so much heartiness that he did not mind in the least, that she was soon comforted." The child was christened Isabel, having the Duchess of Monmouth and the Lord Treasurer as god-parents. "The Duke of York presented Her Royal Highness with a most beautiful casket of silver filagree containing ten filagree fruit-dishes . . ." writes Cattaneo a few days later. 1676

Mary Beatrice's courage was too high, her sense of duty too intense, to make her regret the step her husband had taken; but the King's irritation and alarm were great. He interrupted Courtin, who mentioned the Duke of York, with an exclamation that "the Duke had brought a business upon himself and upon the King, that they would have much ado to be rid of—particularly the Duke; he repeated what he had told me before, that if he died, he did not believe that prince could remain a week in England." Courtin about this time mentions Coleman—"There is a secretary of the Duchess of York's named Coleman, who has many acquaintances in the House of Commons, and whom M. de Ruvigny often employed when he was here. He can be better trusted than any other." Affaires Étrangères

Clement X, whose influence in shaping the destiny of Mary Beatrice had been so great, was now dead, and Odescalchi, that strong reforming Pope, bred in the service of arms, had succeeded him with the title of Innocent XI; and he, though perhaps in a less degree than has been supposed, misled by its enemies, will be found among the forces arrayed against the House of York in the hour of its ruin. The Duchess of York writes to offer her congratulations to the new Pontiff, 19 October 1676; a graceful letter of mere compliment, recom-

1676 mending herself and the interests of the Catholics of England to his paternal care.

In November, the Duke of York broke his collar-bone while fox-hunting; he was bled as soon as the bone was set, according to the universal habit of the day, and the French Ambassador finds him sitting in a chair the same afternoon, "regretting nothing but that his hunting will be stopped for the next six or eight weeks." The accident did not prevent the Duchess giving a great ball on the 4th December, where Evelyn watched "all the gallants and ladies" dancing. While they danced, Courtin reports to Louis XIV—

Affaires Étrangères

"The Duke of York's affairs have never been in so bad a case. . . . There is not a town or village in the country where the minister does not preach every week that the Protestant religion is in the utmost peril, and that France seeks its ruin. . . . The Lord Treasurer and the Duke of Lauderdale, the two Ministers who have most credit, know that they will be attacked in Parliament, so they are ready to put themselves at the head of the party against the Duke of York to conjure the storm they see rising against themselves;" and again on December 31st, almost with exasperation, and rather superfluously to the grandson of Henri IV—"Up to now Princes have been known to change their religion for that of the country whose crown they wished to secure; but there is hardly an example of the heir-presumptive to the throne quitting the religion of the country to embrace another which is not even tolerated there."

Each fresh actor who henceforward comes upon the scene may almost surely be held to be more or less an enemy to the Duke and Duchess of York; thus Compton, the new Bishop of London, whose aspirations to the See of Canterbury had, he believed, been thwarted by the Duke, and who was to have no insignificant share in the future troubles, is mentioned by Courtin, Jan. 21, 1677—"The Bishop of London has persuaded the King to oblige the Duke of York to dismiss Mr. Coleman, the Duchess's secretary. It is true he showed a little

too much ardour in his conduct, but as he could be convicted of nothing against the laws [he had been examined during the Luzancy affair] it seems to me it would have been the Duke's interest to protect him. If he is obliged to leave the town during the sitting of Parliament, I shall be deprived of a great help, as he is a man of much spirit, and with many friends in the House of Commons." 1677

The health of the Duchess of York was uncertain at this time, and Courtin condemns as *méchants remèdes* the constant bleedings to which the English doctors subjected her; the little Princess Isabel "who is only five months old, is constantly ill, and it is not expected she will live."

All the cabals seem to have made private promises to the Duke of York at this time not to attack him, and Charles II has positively promised not to abandon him, "being convinced that if he separated himself from him and from Your Majesty, his affairs would soon be in a very bad state. . . . The Duke's opinion is that the King should regulate his expenditure and think of living with greater economy. In this the Duke sets him a very good example. His house is excellently regulated, all his people punctually paid. He owes nothing, and his affairs are in a good state." The young Duchess might claim a share in this compliment to the good order of the royal household, which could hardly have been so well maintained without her acquiescence and assistance. Affaires Étrangères

In September 1677 Mary Beatrice lost her great-uncle, old Prince Cesare d'Este. In writing to condole with her brother, and also to congratulate him on the fact that their relative had left his fortune to the young Duke and to Prince Rinaldo, "which was the best thing he could do," she gives news of herself and of her child, who had been very ill, but is now better, and ends her letter with the news—"the Prince of Orange arrived two days ago to treat of some affair with the King. I have not yet seen him, as he went direct to His Majesty, who is at Newmarket." Thus simply and unconsciously does Mary Beatrice record the entry upon the scene of the chief actor in

1677 the great drama of her life. A few days later she writes again, 11 November—"The chief news we have here is the marriage of the Princess Mary with the Prince of Orange, which the King publicly made known last week, and which will take place, I believe, in two or three days; they will then leave immediately. I am much grieved to lose her, because I hold her in much affection, and she is really a Princess of great merit.

"This marriage is the reason we have not yet gone into mourning for Prince Cesare, it not being the custom to wear black at times of rejoicing and marriage."

This marriage of one of his chief enemies with the niece and possible heiress of his subsidised ally—for Charles was at this time the regular pensioner, at £100,000 a year, of Louis XIV—could not be regarded with a favourable eye by that monarch, and there is an interesting account given by Charles II himself of his motives for the alliance reported in one of the first despatches of the new Ambassador Barillon, who had succeeded Courtin at the Court of St. James—"I consider this alliance as very useful to my interests, and I expect to draw considerable present advantages therefrom, and still greater in the future. It will put an end to the suspicions of my subjects that my friendship with France is based on an intention to make a change of religion. The conduct of my brother, the Duke of York, has given rise to all these suspicions . . . since his declaration of the Catholic faith all England has been moved to apprehension that I should take measures for a change of government and of religion. . . . This is the ground on which I must defend myself, and I assure you that I have need of every help to resist the perpetual efforts of all the English; for in fact I am alone of my party, at least with none other but my brother. I am assured that this marriage of the Prince of Orange with my niece will dissipate a part of these suspicions and make it apparent that I have no designs contrary to the laws of England and the established religion. It will destroy the cabals that might arise and places my nephew in my interest. . . .I thereby

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confound the hopes of those who might seek a pretext to rise against me, and who would try to gain the Prince of Orange to their party, by giving him hopes of pretensions which now he can only found upon my friendship and a sincere attachment to my interests." 1677

The statement that he and his brother stood alone against both Parliament and people had already been made more than once. As early as February 17 and May 15, Courtin had reported that he had doubts "whether the King can resist alone against a whole nation, and the Duke of York defend himself against so many enemies whom he has armed by furnishing them with the most specious of all pretexts, that of religion," and "The Duke of York admitted to me that there is no one in England in whom the King and he can have confidence; that the Lord Treasurer has views which do not coincide with the true interests of His Majesty, still less with his own." Affaires Étrangères

Danby was in fact already deeply pledged to the Prince of Orange, and we have seen that the Duke and Duchess of York were not inclined to accord their confidence to that astute prince, their nephew. In the King's explanation to Barillon, he made no allusion to their views or interests, probably considering the latter identical with his own. Still less was the opinion sought of the Princess Mary herself. Her preceptor, Dr. Edward Lake, Canon of Exeter, gives an account of the transaction in his journal—"October $\frac{21}{31}$ 1677. The Duke of York dined at Whitehall; after dinner return'd to St James's, took Lady Mary into her closet, and told her of the marriage design'd between her and the Prince of Orange; whereupon Her Highness wept all that afternoon and the following day." "November $\frac{4}{14}$. At 9 o'clock at night the marriage was solemnized in Her Highness's bed-chamber. The King, who gave her away, was very pleasant all the while, for he desired that the Bishop of London (Dr. Henry Compton) would make haste, lest his sister should be deliver'd of a son, and so the marriage be disappointed." Camden Society Miscellany

1677 Three days later, November $\frac{7}{17}$, the little prince thus jokingly announced by the merry monarch did in fact make his appearance "to the great joy of the whole Court (but the Clarendon party)," says Dr. Lake. . . . "The child is but little, but sprightly and likely to live. . . . It was christened the next day by the Bishop of Durham (Lord Crewe); the King and Prince of Orange were godfathers, and the Lady Frances Villars (in the room of Her Highness the Lady Isabella) godmother." He was called Charles, and created Duke of Cambridge, a title which had been borne in succession by the four dead infant sons of the Duke of York by his first wife. The Duke joyfully announces the good news to the Duke of Modena, but Barillon reports 21 November—"The people of London show no pleasure at the birth of the Duke of York's son, and it has damped the joy that they had at the marriage of the Prince of Orange."

Both pleasure and disappointment were to be short-lived. Princess Anne had sickened with small-pox two days after the infant prince's birth—the governess of the royal children, Lady Frances Villars, taking it at the same time, and dying at St. James's November $\frac{20}{30}$. The Princess made a good recovery, and with a disregard of ordinary precaution which seems incredible at the present day, her first visit on leaving her sick-room was to her young stepmother in her lying-in chamber. According to the strict etiquette of those days, she would of necessity pay some attention to the infant in its cradle, and with a touch, or perhaps a kiss, in all ignorance and innocence swept away the little life which had come between her sister and herself and the crown of England. An eruption broke out upon the child, and he died December $\frac{12}{22}$, "not without suspicion of having been ill-managed," says Dr. Lake, by his nurses, Mrs. Chambers and Mrs. Manning, "by striking in the humour which broke forth . . . wherefor the whole Court was concern'd at it; and the Duke was never known to grieve so much at the death of any of his other children." The poor nurses were blamed, whispers of poison began to arise at Modena, old

Waller alludes to the immature age of the royal mother as the cause of the early death of her offspring :— 1677

> "The failing blossoms which a young plant bears
> Engage our hopes for the succeeding years ;
> . . . . .
> Heaven, as a first-fruit, claimed that lovely boy
> The next shall live to be the Nation's joy."

but no one seems to have blamed the admission of a convalescent small-pox patient into contact with a new-born child.

Great was the grief of the young mother, expressed with touching simplicity and resignation in a letter to her brother, December 23, 1677 :—

> "With my eyes full of tears I write to give you the ill news of the loss of my dear son, whom it pleased God to take unto Himself yesterday at mid-day. You can imagine in what affliction I am, and great as was my joy when he was born, so much the greater is my anguish at his loss, but we must have patience, God knows what He does ; may His holy will be done. I should have been too happy if this child had escaped. I am well in health, and should be very well if this affliction had not befallen me. This is the first day I am capable of writing, not having written even to our lady mother before to-day.
>
> Dear brother, I do not tell you how, nor of what my son has died, not to afflict you more, and because I dare not write further this first time, but you will hear it from others . . .
>
> Your affectionate sister
> MARIA."

Just at this time of weakness and of sorrow it is perhaps not surprising that the Duchess of York should have had a terrifying dream, in which the dead Lady Frances Villars appeared to her, declaring herself among the lost, and in answer to the affrighted—"How can this be ? I cannot believe it !" laid a hand upon her wrist "so extremely hot that it was impossible for the Duchess to bear it," says Dr. Lake, who relates the incident at length. He adds that the Earl of Suffolk, the Lady Frances's father, and her other relations were much concerned at the Duchess's repeating it, "and indeed it occasioned a great

1677 deal of discourse both at Court and in the City." A few years later Mary Beatrice might have judged it more prudent to have held her peace in an atmosphere so charged with electricity, but diplomacy is not a characteristic of nineteen, nor the power to keep such terrors to oneself.

The Brief of congratulation from Pope Innocent XI on the birth of her son is dated December 20, and only reached the Duchess of York some time after his death. Barillon, in announcing the event to Louis XIV, says—"Many people believe that the Duke of York will never have children that will live. This death can only be advantageous to the Prince of Orange, strongly raising his hopes for the future, and strengthening his party in England at the present conjuncture."

During the year 1677 public affairs had taken an important turn; the French successes in Flanders had profoundly incensed the English Parliament and people, and the Prince of Orange had done his utmost to persuade his new father-in-law to help him and the United Provinces. By the end of the year war with France seemed imminent, and the Duke of York saw a hope of re-conquering by successful warfare abroad something of his popularity at home. It was an anxious time for the French Ambassador, who reports to Louis XIV, December 27, a conversation with Lord Bellasys "much in the Duke's confidence." He is to try and convince him how injurious to himself a war would be. "Mr. Coleman has also been to see me, and is greatly desirous that affairs should be arranged. The rumour in London is that in case of war the Duke of York would take the command in Flanders. I know people make him hope that he would be restored to his charge of High Admiral. They also promise him not to harass the Catholics, but the more well-informed do not believe these promises would be kept." A few days later he announces the elevation of Sancroft to the Archbishopric of Canterbury—"a man of mean birth, but esteemed wise and moderate and of much good sense; it is thought the Duke of York had a great share in his

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promotion, and in the exclusion of the Bishop of London, a declared enemy of the Catholics." 1678

"The Duke of York," he writes, January 10, 1678, "seems less inclined to temporise than does the King, and speaks openly of the impossibility of peace without the places on the Escaut being restored to the Spaniards. . . . This Prince is rather secret, and may have other sentiments at heart, but he has shown a degree of warmth the last few days that was not expected of him." January 13—The Duke of York makes protestations of friendship for France "which cannot prevent him from adhering to his brother's interests, who could not without his own ruin allow the rest of Flanders to be taken by Your Majesty."

These despatches of Barillon are well described by Fox as being worth their weight in gold, and in their clear-sighted conciseness .guide us safely through the maze of politics in which he took part. "Everybody, even those most friendly to the Duke of York, think he hopes to gain by the war what his profession of the Catholic religion has made him lose. But his true servants have no doubt that he is being deceived . . . he is led to hope that he will be restored to his charges and given the command of the troops that might be sent to Flanders . . . but Parliament will not so easily retract what has been done against the Catholics, and many of those most attached to the Duke of York believe that if he were once out of England it would not be impossible to find pretexts to prevent his return."

These proceedings deeply interested the Duchess of York, and rather alarmed her. She writes to her brother March 10, 1678—"We are all melancholy with the fear of war, which although not yet declared is almost certain, the King having sent a quantity of troops to Flanders under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, to help the Spaniards, who are very few, and have lost almost the whole of Flanders, letting the King of France take all the towns he went near. Here, nothing else is spoken of; for my part, I am in constant fear

1678 of the Duke's departure, which will certainly follow the declaration of war."

In reporting the proceedings in the House of Commons in rejecting the Fund for General Officers "a thing reasonable in itself, and nearly touching the Duke of York," Barillon remarks that it "ought to make him open his eyes, were he not as obstinate as he is about a war, in which it is very possible he would find his ruin." The diplomacy of Louis XIV, the gold he poured into England, the tergiversations of Parliament—which was as reluctant to grant supplies when the King declared his readiness to go to war, as it had been loud in clamouring for it before—resulted in the peace of Nimeguen, and the Duke of York was deprived of what he believed, and which possibly might have proved to be a successful turning-point in his career.

Meanwhile a smaller affair had occupied the affectionate labour of the Duchess of York. The Duke of Mantua had made some encroachments upon territory belonging to the Duke of Modena, who had sent the Marquis Montecuccoli to London to obtain the help of Charles II, and the Duchess had the satisfaction of writing 24 April 1678:—"The King has really been most ready to do what he could for your service, but has had so much to do with his own affairs, that he could not attend to yours until now. His Majesty has done all you desired, as you will hear from the Marquis Montecuccoli, and I devoutly hope his words may have the desired effect. You cannot imagine how vexed I am to see you in this *imbroglio*, but I hope you will soon be clear of it and with peace, for to tell the truth I am no friend of war.

I pray God the Duke of Mantua may prove reasonable and agree to your just pretensions, for if he does not, I know very well that you will have recourse to arms; I hope it may not come to that, but if it should I undertake to speak for you to the King and to the Duke that they may take your part, for I am ready to serve my dear brother, not only in this but in much more. . . .[1]

[1] See Appendix A.

We are all well, thank God, but have many troubles ; we do not yet know if we shall have peace or war ; the King and my lord Duke are almost always in council and in continual occupation, so that they have not an hour to themselves . . . ." 1678

In July she writes to thank him for his portrait, "which is very dear to me, for Ronchi tells me it is like you ; if so, you are much changed, and certainly I should not have recognised you. If only I could see the original ! As soon as my portrait is finished I shall send it you . . . . We are still uncertain as to war or peace ; I fear the former, but if the latter I shall not fail to sustain your interests as much as is possible to me . . . ."

DUCHESS OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"WINDSOR 14 *September* 1678.

". . . . In yours of August 7 you said you had heard that peace was more doubtful than ever ; I believe there never was an affair of such consequence left so long in doubt, one week we think we have peace, the next there come tidings of war, and thus we have remained for several months. At present there is a five weeks truce, of which four have already expired. Here it is generally believed the articles of peace will be signed next week, but we are by no means sure ; in case of war (which is not expected) the season is so advanced that the armies would retire to their winter quarters until next year. If we had declared war this summer, my lord Duke would undoubtedly have taken part in it, and I should have done my utmost to follow him, at least as far as Holland, where I should have had the satisfaction of seeing the Princess of Orange, and he had granted me this . . . .

This is all the news I have ; for the rest, we are at Windsor, a most beautiful place, and finer than ever now, as the King has built magnificent apartments, where I think we shall remain until the beginning of October, Parliament meeting again on the 4th . . ."

On the 22 September she announces that peace is signed—"it is quite certain, there is no doubt about it, please God it may last ! "

The Court returned to London and the Duchess writes to

1678 give her brother further assurances that his interests are looked after.

"6 *October* 1678.

"The King has recommended your business to his ambassadors at Nimeguen, where the peace negociations are treated, but as the Emperor has not yet entered into them, I do not know how it will go. I shall procure a fresh parley between the King and the Imperial Ambassador here . . . . but to tell the truth the King is rather slow, and he has been all this time in the country, where he does not care to be spoken to on business; therefore I cannot go as fast as I should wish. I shall also ask His Majesty for a letter to the King of Spain, respecting the credit you have with him; this is the most propitious time, the Marquis d'Este being Ambassador at the Court of Spain, who I am sure will help on your business as much as he can . . . .

The King has prorogued Parliament again until the end of this month, wishing to go to Newmarket on Tuesday next for three weeks, my lord Duke will go too, as he never leaves the King's side. I also am going a journey to Holland to see the Princess of Orange who is with child and has been ill, she is better now and very anxious to see me and her sister; we have as great a wish to see her, for certainly I love her as if she were my own daughter, and also I have a wish to see that country. My lord Duke is pleased that I should visit his daughter and divert myself, and the King has given me permission, so I shall start Monday or Tuesday next, the day the Duke goes to Newmarket, and I shall return when he does. If the wind is favourable, in twenty-four hours after leaving this house we should reach that of the Princess of Orange. Wherever I may be I shall always remember to write to my dear brother . . . ."

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Barillon announces this journey to his government—"While there is so much public excitement here, the Duchess of York is off to Holland with the Princess Anne and the Duchesses of Richmond, Buckingham and Monmouth to see the Princess of Orange; the Earl of Ossory attends her. This voyage seems rather extraordinary. Many persons make an affair of state of it, and say the purpose is to take further promises of all kinds of union between England and the Prince of Orange. Others say it is a mere party of pleasure and I think they are right."

It was an act of pure kindness to her whom she loved as her

own daughter and a party of pleasure, the last she made from 1678
England, for on her return from Holland Mary Beatrice found a business afoot so serious to the house of York that it may almost be considered the beginning of the end which was to come eleven years later—the foul imposture of Titus Oates, or the "Shaftesbury Plot" as it was known to his contemporaries. Lord Shaftesbury had not been idle while in opposition; Lord Peterborough, in his Memoirs, describes him as the deadliest enemy of the Duke of York, as taking "all men by the Hands that he thought bore him secret unkindness; and if there were prejudicial whispers and insinuations to be apply'd unto the King, no man knew to do it with more dexterity than this Lord, for he could kill with Courtesie and so ruine a man's reputation with Praise." Peterborough places him at the head of the faction "which design'd the ruine of the Crown, and the establishment of a Commonwealth; against the prevalency whereof there was but the Duke's fidelity to the King his Brother, his valor and vigilancy that did oppose. It was he that stood up in every Parliament for the King's just Power and Prerogative against popular invasion; it was he encouraged the King's faithful Friends and his fainting ministers; and it was in him alone the Enemies of the Crown found resistance. He made them desperate at last, and to accomplish their designs they saw it was impossible without his ruine. This did seem a great undertaking, to destroy a Prince such as he, such in his Birth, such in his Merit and Virtues, and such in the esteem of all just and reasonable Men. . . . they knew that against a man so qualified, no Truth could prevail, they were then resolved to have recourse to falsehood and to the Devil, the Father of Lyers, one of whose chief Favourites was become Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, the late Earl of Shaftesbury . . . Having try'd various successes in his Fortune [he had spent some months in the Tower in 1677] and finding the Duke's Genious in opposition to his establishment began to enter upon the undertaking of that famous contrivance of the pretended Popish Plot, whereto he had for assistant another Great Earle

1678 whose name I shall omit for the sake of some that went before him, and of others that may come after; His chief Instruments were Dr Tongue and the memorable Titus Oates."

It is interesting to compare the Duke of York's own account of this affair in his Memoirs. After saying that it was "the constant practice of Ministers that when they were afraid of the House of Commons for themselves they presently exposed the Papists to be worried" and that the House in 1678 "made it plainly appear that they were really more jealous of the King's power than of the Power of France" by voting the disbandment of the Army, "the Factious party there prevalent made it their only business to be rid of the Duke, to pull down the Ministers, and to weaken the Crown. . . . This unsettled temper of the Factious party, which one while was for attacking the Duke and at other times called for his assistance to attack others, would easily have been crush'd, or faded of itself, had not a certain malicious contrivance of an indigent wretch, . . . furnished them with an opportunity for executing their designs . . . and gained them a fairer occasion than ever they hoped for, not only of compassing their ends against the Duke, but of bringing the King to their termes, and of shaking the foundation of the Government itself. And as the greatest events oft-times derive their origin from the slightest accidents, 'tis certain there never was so great a flame raised from one so trivial as this, which not only occasioned the spilling of much innocent blood, but had like to have sown the seeds of another Civil War. . . . Never was anything of that nature worse concerted in itself, nor more improbable in all its circumstances; but meeting with a prodigious credulity in the people in relation to anything which asperses Catholics, and an implacable malice of some managers of it against the Duke, it rais'd such a storm as had like to have overwhelmed both him and them."

The Duke of York does not mention Shaftesbury by name, but Echard, Archdeacon of Stowe, whose history was published in 1718, openly calls the Plot by his name—"And if, as probably, he was not the Original Contriver, he was the grand

Refiner and Improver of all the Materials. And so much he seem'd to acknowledge to a Nobleman of his Acquaintance, when he said, *I will not say who started the Game, but I am sure I had the full Hunting of it.*" 1678

Lord Peterborough blames Charles II for going to Newmarket in October "without stifling and putting an end" to the imposture. "For all the endeavours could be used, would not prevail towards stopping a Journey of Recreation, for a matter so important, as the discovery of this imposture might have been, when otherwise there had been time enough to have perform'd it, between that and the sitting of the Parliament."

Barillon, October 13, 1678, reports that he found the Duke of York "very anxious and very sad. I know that his servants are in great consternation. . . . The Catholic Lords are in great apprehensions. . . . They believe Parliament will revive all the severest laws against them, and put them into execution. . . . The general discourse of those who best know the state of affairs is that the Duke of York is lost, or that he will overthrow the Lord Treasurer." Affaires Étrangères

On her return from Holland the Duchess of York writes to the Duke of Modena, November 3, 1678. . . . "Parliament met last Monday, and there are so many intrigues, supposed plots, and accusations that I could not describe the hundredth part of them. Dom Giacomo [Ronchi, her chaplain] will have written something about them, so I shall say no more than that the Catholics here are in very ill case, and if God does not come to our aid I do not know how it will end." On the 24th she writes again thanking her brother for his sympathy, and saying—"Affairs here are getting rather worse than better, every day they invent new stories and new plots, which are too long and too confused to write, also all the *couriers* are stopped, and all letters opened, so that one can write nothing. You can imagine how afflicted I am, principally for the danger in which I see my lord Duke, for he has many enemies who do him all the harm they can with his brother. I hope however that the number of his friends may prove the greater, and that the

1678 affection his brother bears him will prevent him from believing the evil which is said of him.

"I am much afflicted also for the misery of the poor Catholics, which is really extreme; they are all banished from London, and may not come within ten miles of it, and many poor people are dying of hunger and privation. May it please God to grant us patience and an end to these persecutions, if it be for His greater glory. I must stop, for I can speak of nothing else, and dare say no more of this."

Lord Shaftesbury's motion to include the Duke of York in the Bill of Exclusion of the Catholic Peers failed in the House of Lords, and was rejected by two votes in the House of Commons. Barillon informs Louis XIV of the important fact 8 December 1678, calling it "a *coup* of much consequence and one which may be decisive for him. It must not be believed however that it saves him altogether, the question will be agitated again more than once."

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The first innocent blood to flow under the accusations of Titus Oates was that of the Duchess of York's secretary, Edward Coleman. The Duchess had bidden Dom Giacomo Ronchi, her chaplain, write an account of Oates's Plot to the Duke of Modena. From this narrative, written almost from day to day, and impressive in the passionless exactitude with which it unfolds the succession of events, we shall transcribe what relates to this first victim of the Plot.

"London 13 *October* 1678.

"A plot has been contrived here against the Catholics, calumniously imputing to them that they meant to assassinate the King; many are in prison, among them some of quality such as Mr Coleman, our Royal Mistress's secretary, although secretly so, Her Royal Highness having appointed another some time ago in order not to run counter to the Parliament, which has always hated him, and desired to persecute him as the chief agent of the Jesuit Fathers. He has been examined twice in the King's Council, together with Mr George Wakeman, the Queen's Physician, and they both answered with great intrepidity, for they are indeed most innocent . . . The accuser is a

Protestant Minister [Oates] who, many years ago, became a Catholic and contrived to get himself received by the Benedictines, the Dominicans and the Jesuits, but he was everywhere dismissed for his evil conduct . . . . This man has been examined in public council and has mixed up in his plot Don John of Austria, the Duke of Villahermosa and Père La Chaise, confessor of the Most Christian King. . . In Mr Coleman's house three sacks of letters have been found and are now being examined ; many are in cypher, and he is in prison. It was certainly imprudent to keep them in his house after he had been accused." 1678

Coleman had consulted the Duke of York, who had told him if there was anything illegal or even suspicious in his papers he had better conceal himself. As the documents when produced at his trial contained no tittle of evidence of connivance with any plot for assassination or rebellion, and as he had come safely out of the Luzancy affair, he not unnaturally expected to do so now. Money he had certainly received from three successive French Ambassadors, the bulk of which went to Members of Parliament, but only for the purpose of strengthening the French interest, and that of the Catholics in the two Houses.

"22 *October* 1678. Although this Plot is plainly known to be a mere invention nevertheless many innocent persons are left to languish in prison, especially priests and friars, which induces other Catholics to fly or to conceal themselves . . . . The Ambassadors of Spain and France have applied to the King to execute prompt justice on this pretended conspiracy, because of the accusations against Don John of Austria and the King's confessor. His Majesty laughed, and said he did not believe in it.

3 *November*. The accuser has not scrupled to accuse the Duke of York of complicity in the Plot, at the same time denouncing his confessor, Mr Bedingfield. . . .

12 *November*. Oates has made fresh depositions, affirming that the Duke of York was not in the plot, but that Coleman had forged his handwriting and used his seal. He has also accused the Duchess of Mazarin, Mylord Bellasys, Mylord Petre, Mylord Arundel, Mylord Powis and Mr Lambert all of whom, except the Duchess of Mazarin, are in prison. Among the papers seized at Mr Coleman's house are

1678 said to be copies of letters from the Duchess of York to the Pope. She however is perfectly tranquil, knowing that she has never written any but letters of compliment to His Holiness. . . .

(*December* 16.) Coleman was hanged, drawn and quartered last Tuesday. He denied to his last breath that he had taken part in any conspiracy against the King, and declared that he died in the Catholic faith."

At his trial, his life was sworn away by Oates' and Bedloe's unsupported and contradictory testimony. The Duchess of York also announced her secretary's death to the Duke of Modena, adding—"Certainly the state of all Catholics in this country moves one to pity, and what is worse, some poor miserable beings, constrained by necessity, are abandoning our holy faith. . . . To my great sorrow, I have been forced to dismiss all my English Catholic servants, as Parliament has forbidden them to appear at Court." Her preacher, de La Colombière, was also arrested and expelled at the instigation of Luzancy, who again appeared on the scene.

"22 *December* 1678.

". . . . Since my return from Holland little comfort have I had, for here there is nothing but plotting and intrigue such as had never been heard of before, those men having accused the Queen herself; but I hope to God that they will be found out and the innocent spared."

The hope was a vain one, the blood of Ireland, Grove and Pickering, of Hill, Green and Berry was to flow in obedience to the denunciations of the perjurers, whose boldness increased with their success, culminating in the "I, Titus Oates, accuse Catherine, Queen of England, of high treason," and the year 1679 opened in a popular panic in which the voice of reason and the claims of justice were alike set at nought.

"The madness which had seized the nation," wrote Macpherson, "raged with redoubled fury in Parliament," for "popular assemblies are truly the representatives of the people in their violence and fears," but we can find no trace of personal timidity in the young Duchess of York. Full of commiseration for the persecuted, for whose assistance, Ronchi reports to

Modena, she and the Duke make great sacrifices, anxious for her husband's safety, no thought of her own ever seems to occupy her mind. This indifference to danger alarms her chaplain, who complains :—"Their Royal Highnesses are surrounded by treacherous servants of both sexes who betray their closest secrets, and yet they continue to trust them blindly, to their own grave peril." 1679

She writes rather sadly to her brother, 12 January 1679, that the many letters of good wishes for the New Year she has received have palled upon her. "Last Monday the King prorogued Parliament to 14th February, please God it may be for the best, for certainly at present this country has need of great amendment. I am impatient to hear from you . . . and I hope you are having a merrier Carnival than we ; for here no one is in good humour, and there are no diversions ; although Parliament is not sitting, nobody knows how things will go, the populace being still much heated over this Plot, which is made the pretext for greater and greater wrong."

The Prorogation of Parliament was followed by its dissolution on 24 January. "It had sat seventeen years, and had been assembled to heal those National wounds which had bled neare 20 years before ; and though it had then concurred with inexpressible joy to re-establish injured Monarchy, it was broaken for endeavouring with as much ardour and earnestness to pull it downe again." The King at the same time summoned a new Parliament to meet in forty days, and the Court Party spared neither money nor pains to secure a majority : but the returns soon showed that its influence was no match for the frenzy of the people. Danby, over whose head an impeachment was hanging, now determined to propitiate and disarm his opponents by sending the Duke of York out of the country. A great effort was made to induce him to retire voluntarily "into any country save France," and upon his refusal Danby advised the King to send him an order to quit England and take up his abode in Brussels. Before taking a step so grave, and so repugnant to his feelings of affection for Memoirs of James II

1679 his brother, Charles made one more attempt to persuade him to return to the Church of England.

By the King's order Archbishop Sancroft and the Bishop of Winchester waited upon the Duke of York, and in terms of concern, almost of affection, the Archbishop bewailed his having withdrawn himself from the communion of the Church of England, "for which his father of blessed memory had suffered so glorious a martyrdom," and which still flourished in spite of persecutions "like a lily among thorns." The discourse lasted half-an-hour, and was listened to in silence; then the Duke replied that "tho' they two meant well by it, he could not but believe that those who had put them upon it intended his prejudice. . . . It would be a presumption in him, an illiterate man, to enter into controversial disputes with persons so learned as they; . . . he assured them that he had taken all the pains he could to inform himself in matters of religion before he changed, that he did not doe it hastely nor without a previous foresight of the inconveniences which have already happened and which were likely to follow on that account."

Two days later the King asked his brother what had passed between him and the Bishops? and finding their project had been ineffectual, "told him he was convinc'd it was absolutely necessary to yield to this torrent, and desired he would withdraw for some time out of England." James asked for an order in writing "to show the world what was the motive of his complyance . . . which on 28 February the King writ accordingly." The order took the form of a letter couched in affectionate terms, and concluded:—"You may easily believe with what trouble I write this to you, there being nothing I am more sensible of than the constant kindness you have ever had for me, and I hope you are so just to me as to be assured that no absence or anything else can ever change me from being truly and kindly yours. C. R."

The fiat had gone forth, and the Duke of York and his young wife were for the first time to taste of the bread of exile. The order given on February 28 was so promptly obeyed,

that by the 4th of March they were ready to start. Permission 1679
to take their daughters with them was refused; in the case of the Princess Anne, who was fifteen years of age, the reason alleged was the fear of her father's influence on her religious opinions; as for the little Princess Isabel, aged three, no reason seems to have been given.

The King accompanied his brother and sister-in-law to Greenwich, and bade them farewell with every mark of sorrow and affection. A few days later, drawing Barillon aside he charged him to explain to the King of France "the necessity Affaires Étrangères
in which he had found himself, for the good of his service to do himself *la violence extrême* of sending away a person so near to him, and whose conduct had always been such as he could desire; that I could see what was going on, and the general animosity of the nation towards the Catholics, that he hoped the step the Duke had taken might bring a present remedy to the suspicions of all the Protestants, or at least would deprive the evil-minded of the most plausible pretext they could have."

On the 27th March the royal exiles with their small retinue reached Brussels, and the English Resident there, Sir Richard Bulstrode, reports their arrival to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles II.

"Their Royal Highnesses arrived here with three of the Pub. Rec. Office, Flanders, No. 119
Prince of Orange's yachts. I had notice the night before of their coming, and had 20 coaches ready to receive them, wherein they were conducted *incognito* to their lodgings at the Prince de Lignes. . . . Her Highness was much indisposed with her coming by sea, and is not yet recovered of it. Immediately after their arrival here they were visited and welcomed in his Excellency's name [Duke of Villahermosa, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands] . . . and by several persons of the greatest quality . . . Her Highness being still something indisposed received the visits in her bed, the better to avoid all exceptions as to matters of ceremony, which is much stood upon in this Court, especially among the Grandees

1679 of Spain, who pretend a privilege much greater than others, but by this means all disputes will be avoided."

Her own cares did not cause Mary Beatrice to abate her kindness to her relations and her friends. The question of the Cardinal's hat for her uncle, Prince Rinaldo d'Este, had never ceased to occupy her, and one of her first letters from Brussels is addressed to Pope Innocent XI on the subject, 8 April 1679. She presumes he has heard of their arrival in Brussels, and of the causes of their peregrination. She excuses herself for not having written as often as filial obedience required, but hopes His Holiness has considered the times and the instability of English affairs, and goes on to make "fresh instances on behalf of my uncle Prince Rinaldo d'Este, that Your Holiness may deign to confer upon him the Cardinal's hat . . . and as for many years past there has always been a member of the house of Este in the Sacred College, it would be the greatest satisfaction to me to have my uncle at the Court of Rome, as I could thus, with greater security more frequently receive the commands of Your Holiness, assuring you that on every occasion that presents itself, I shall contribute as far as I can to the propagation of the holy Catholic faith in England. . . ." Innocent XI sent kind letters of sympathy and condolence to the Duke and Duchess, but did not grant the latter's request.

Vatican Archives

The young Duke of Modena's affairs also continued to make calls upon his sister, to which she responds with readiness :—

"Brussels, 15 *April* 1679.

"I have already sent your letter to His Majesty, and the Duke and I have warmly recommended the affair to him ; though from what I hear . . . I fear you have come too late, the peace being already ratified and signed by all the Powers. . . To-morrow I leave for Holland to see the Princess who is ill with fever and pains, but with no further hope of a child . . . which is very displeasing to us all. I shall stay with her several days, until she recovers, she having as great a desire to see me as I have to see her, and then we shall return here until it pleases the King and Parliament to let us go home again. We shall live in hope for two or three weeks, but if in that time we are

not recalled, I fear it may not be for some little while—*per un pezzetto.* 1679
You can imagine how passionately I desire our return. But if we have to remain here, I mean to write to our lady mother to beseech her to come and see me, which would be the greatest consolation I could have, and I hope you will help me to persuade her to grant it me. As to you, I dare not ask it, for I fear your affairs would not allow of your coming, although I desire to see you above all things. We are treated with the greatest civility by every one in this country. . . ."

Her next letter is from the Hague, April 25th, and after allusions to her brother's affairs, she says :—

"I am here solely to see the Princess of Orange, whose fever is no longer as violent as it was, and I hope she will be free from it in two or three days. If so, or if she does not get worse, we shall certainly leave for Brussels next week and remain there until we have fresh orders from the King whose affairs are going badly, and as you may believe, cut me to the heart. I hope in God things may change now that the Lord Treasurer is gone (and from what we hear is to be banished for ever from England) and that we may soon have the happiness to go home . . . We, thank God, are well ; I heartily commend the Sisters of the Visitation to you, that you may protect them on all occasions, and if you can serve them in a lawsuit they are at present engaged in, do so for the love of me . . ."

The disgrace of Lord Danby, alluded to in the above letter, had in fact quickly followed his success in banishing the Duke of York from England. He was sent to the Tower on the 15th of April, and "had the Duke been capable," says his biographer Clarke, "of delighting in revenge, this furnish'd him with a fit occasion ; he was perswaded he owed his banishment to the Treasurer's advice, and one of the first things he heard after his arrival at Brussels, was the fall of that great man, and that it was in a measure unpittyed."

Danby's fall naturally raised the hopes of the Duke and Duchess of York, but only to be dispelled by the news that the King had called their chief enemy, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and made him President of the Council, a choice which caused universal surprise, but which James in his Memoirs explains by

1679 supposing that Charles "thought to keep Shaftesbury from doing him hurt by keeping him in his service (a method which seldom succeeds)."

While the greatest court continued to be made to the Duke and Duchess at Brussels, and all the nobility of both sexes, reports Sir Richard Bulstrode, "fayle not every day to pay their respects to them in a very particular manner, it being impossible to show more to them," and "the town is crowded with the Nobility and Gentry who flock hither from all parts," the action of their enemies in the new Parliament is thus described by Mary Beatrice to the Duke of Modena :—

Pub. Rec. Office, Flanders, No. 119

"Brussels, 13th *May*, 1679.

". . . . Instead of improving, our state continues to go from bad to worse. Yesterday we received worse news from England than ever ; Parliament is resolved to ruin the Duke by accusing him of being in the Plot and therefore guilty of high treason, incapable as a Catholic of succeeding to the Crown, and in a word of every crime, if there can be worse than those I have named, and if their malice against him can invent them. You can imagine our affliction, having lost every hope of going home, at least for some time."

Two days later, in fact, the House of Commons brought in a Bill for the Exclusion of the Duke of York from the English Throne, and "that if the Duke of York, who was then in foreign parts, should ever return into these dominions, he should be, and was thereby attainted of high treason." James was not the man, at this period of his life at least, to sit still under so grave a menace. His letters to his friends in England, and especially to the King, are as very trumpet-calls to action. He warns his brother against Monmouth, bids him not suffer Ireland or Scotland to be put in other hands, "as they are at present you may count upon their assistance," and it is curious at the very moment when Barillon, writing to Louis XIV of the different cabals, says—"There is always one secretly working for the Prince of Orange. It will meet with great obstacles, and people are already preparing to ask for the same precautions against a

foreign king as against a Catholic one," to find the Duke of York entirely trusting that personage:—"The Prince of Orange, too, has given me all imaginable assurance that he will stand and fall by you; wherefor I beg of Your Majesty to make use of those partes and courage God has given you, and not rely upon concessions already made, or to make any more; be pleased to use all possible diligence in providing your fortes and garrisons; and certainly the speedyest way of breaking their measures, is to breake the Parliament itself, and proportion your way of living to your revenue, rather than to ly any longer at the Mercy of those men." He ends another letter:—"Remember Edward II, Richard II, and the King our father." 1679

Charles was to the full as resolute to allow no tampering with the succession, "for their interests were as much united in this case as their inclinations," says James. "The King was sensible his own preservation depended upon it, and that his chief security lay in having a successor they [his enemies] liked worse than himself, otherwise in such turbulent times no one could answer what might be attempted upon his person." Charles's letters were so kind and full of good promise, that the Duchess of York writes of them with delight to the Duke of Modena, adding—"after the feast of Corpus Christi we are going for a while into Holland, having received notice from England that it would be better for us, and more satisfactory if we did not stay all the time in one town. To me it is the same, when I am out of England and cannot go to Italy, in which of these countries I am. Memoirs of James II

"Dear brother, by your last letter I am pleased to see that you are diverting yourself with horse-racing, and if you succeed I should like to have an account of it. . . . I assure you, your affection for me is returned, for I love you better than sister ever loved brother, and not for a little while but for as long as I may live."

Charles's resolution to stand by his brother and by his own prerogative was soon put to the test. On June 1, the Bill of Exclusion passed the House of Commons by 207 votes to

1679 128, the King's prerogative of pardon in cases of impeachment by the Commons was contested, and the right of the Bishops to sit and vote in trials of peers in capital cases was denied. Charles acted with promptitude ; he unexpectedly sent for the Commons and prorogued Parliament for the term of ten weeks. "He never spoke better nor with greater energie, tho' his speech was extempore as well as his resolution," writes his brother, "this was so little expected, it struck them like thunder and left them all at a gaze, not knowing what way to turn nor what measures to take."

The news of this event again raised the hopes of the exiles. The Duchess of York sends it to the Duke of Modena, saying—"It is believed this change will cause the King to recall us at once ; but we are not sure, not having received letters from His Majesty, which we impatiently expect to-day or to-morrow, for we cannot endure so many uncertainties. The Duke my lord is resolved to start at the King's first summons, which seems to me a great hazard, but I hope God will protect us.

I fear our lady mother is not for the voyage, and that I shall not have the great consolation of seeing her . . . but I must have patience, for I have known nothing but affliction for some time past. I should accustom myself to it, but the task is hard. If I return to England it will certainly be a great happiness, but not only shall I be in constant anxiety for the Duke, who is hated to death by those men, but I shall certainly be deprived of seeing my dear lady mother. . . ."

The hoped-for letters had not arrived when she writes June 13 to an English lady, probably Lady Hawley. After promising to write as often as she can :—"Tho' i doubt it will not be so often as i could wish, for if you knew the quantity of letters i have to writt in England, besides Italy and Holland, i am sure you would pitty me . . . I am very glad you chose a day to go to the Queene when she was in so good humour, i believe she does hope that this prorogation will be good, i pray God it may, but as to our owne particular, wee cannot yett think

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 24,901 N 3

so for wee have no comand to go home, tho everybody did hope wee should . . . I have been, God be thanked, of late very well in my health, but my mind and my heart as sick as ever, for i have no hops yett of going to my deare England again ; if you love me continue to give me all the news you know of all kynds, and without ceremony ; pray remember me very kyndly to my lord Hawley, and tell him that i was very glad of his letter. . . " 1679

The bold act of proroguing Parliament seemed to have exhausted the courage of the King, and yielding to the counsels of Shaftesbury, the Duchess of Portsmouth and other advisers adverse to the Duke, he wrote to him :—" I am sorry to tell you, that the temper of the people is such in all places, especially in London, that the [Catholic] Lords in the Tower being not yet tryd (by which men's minds [are] as full as ever with the apprehension of the Plot and Popery) that if you should come over at this time, it would be of the last ill-consequence both to you and to me." This positive answer obliged the Duke to submit " out of obedience rather than conviction," and he sends to England for more coaches, and for his hounds, that he may have some diversion, " the wood of Loignee being very proper for hunting," writes Sir Richard Bulstrode, " Mylord Peterborough and his Lady are coming over with Mylord Bellasis and many others which will make a full court here." And to the joy of her daughter, the Duchess of Modena resolves to come to Brussels.

DUCHESS OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

" BRUSSELS *July* 1, 1679.

" Your letter of the 1st June gave me both pleasure and displeasure. I was happy to see the respect with which you speak of our lady mother, and what you desire me to say to her, but it vexes me greatly to have no hope of soon seeing you. . . . I must have patience ; certainly it would have been too much happiness to see our lady mother and you at the same time ; I shall hope to see you before I die, for if not, I shall not die content. . . Letters from England always announce something new ; there has been the beginning of a rebellion

1679 in Scotland, but minds are pacified again. The King has no wish that the Duke should go home, because he thinks it would be the ruin of them both, being so persuaded by the Duke's enemies, who are now the chief of the Council and all powerful, and who therefore fear greatly that he should return. He wishes it above all things, as you can imagine, and I also, and we think it would be better for the King, His Majesty being surrounded by none but men who betray him, and advise him according to their own interest. . . . Many priests and others have been condemned for that Plot, and I believe yesterday six were to be executed, one layman, [Langhorne, a barrister] and five Jesuits [Whitebread, Harcourt, Fenwick, Gaven and Turner], all of whom, I would swear, are no more guilty than I am; others are imprisoned and condemned solely for being priests, which is barbarous. . . . The King always expresses great tenderness for his brother, and I really believe he wishes him well, but he allows himself to be persuaded by every-body. . . ."

A few days later the Duchess of Modena arrived in Brussels, she and her daughter meeting again with indescribable joy after a separation of five eventful years. The Duchess Laura had left Mary Beatrice little more than a lovely child; she found her a beautiful woman, fulfilling the fairest promises of her youth, and having passed unscathed through many perils. In announcing her arrival to Prince Rinaldo d'Este, she writes :—"Certainly if I had to say whose delight was the greatest, mine or that of the Duchess of York, I should find it impossible to do so; her tenderness is no new thing, but what it has always been, showing great affection and respect towards me. She is very tall, but rather thin, full of goodness and grace. Your Highness must not wonder that I should speak in such terms of my own daughter; they are gifts from Heaven, in which I have had no part. The Duke adores her, and thanked me again for having bestowed her upon him. He certainly is a most excellent and amiable gentleman. There is nothing new from England, nor any appearance of returning there."

All hope of present return to England did in fact seem vain, and the Duke of York expresses himself with some irritation

in a letter to his trusted friend and servant, Colonel Legge, afterwards Earl of Dartmouth :—"I am sorry to find that all I wrote, or that you and the rest of my friends could say to His Majesty did not work on him, but I do not wonder at it, since I see he is resolved to stick to the measures he has taken with his new Privy Council, who have already begun and will absolutely make him a Duke of Venice. . . . No wonder he fears to stick to me when he will not stick to himself, but lets all go as it will, so he may have a little present quiet, which will not last long. . . "

1679 Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 18,447 f. 11

CHAPTER IV

1679 THE Duke and Duchess of York had now been separated from their children in England for five months, and again, and this time successfully, petitioned to have them with them. The two Princesses arrived in Brussels in August, on the understanding that they were to be sent back before the opening of Parliament, and the young Duchess had the happiness of seeing her child again, and of showing it to its grandmother. Almost immediately afterwards an unexpected event took the Duke of York suddenly to England. Charles II fell ill at Windsor on August 22, and sent an express to the Duke to come to him immediately, leaving the Duchess behind, and to give out "that he did it upon his own motion, so fearful His Majesty was of giving the least disgust," writes James, "and that if any fault were found, it might fall upon the Duke's shoulders, which were more accustomed to such burthens, and this he knew would make no great addition to what they already bore." No one but the Duchess of York knew the truth when James, taking Lord Peterborough and John Churchill with him, started for London, and so faithfully was the secret kept, that the Pope wrote to the Duke, and subsequently to his wife, blaming his rashness in exposing himself and his hopes "to the hatred and snares of his enemies."

The Duke was received with joy by the King, to whom "he apologised out loud for coming without leave"; the courtiers pressed around him with welcome and congratulations, and there is a significant passage of Barillon's to Louis XIV, show-

ing that despite the frenzy of the times, there still existed a deep-rooted bond of loyalty between the heir to the throne and the English people—a bond which all the machinations of his enemies, aided by the agonising religious difficulty, might have failed to destroy, had not his own tactless blunderings at a later time served them all too well :—"The excitement in London was less than might have been expected ; My lord Sunderland told me the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had resolved to proclaim the Duke of York if the King had died. The same has been confirmed to me by others. Nevertheless, I have difficulty in believing that things would have passed as quietly as they say. I had a long interview with the Duke . . . he does not yet know if he will be allowed to stay. . . ." 1679 Affaires Étrangères

The doubt was soon solved ; Lord Sunderland brought a message from the King the next day, desiring the Duke of York to leave England at once, but the blow was softened by the choice of Scotland instead of Brussels for his place of sojourn.

DUCHESS OF YORK TO DUKE OF MODENA.

"BRUSSELS, *Sept.* 30.

"... The Duke comes back next week. ... I believe until the closing of Parliament unless things change ; but there are so many changes in that country, especially of late, that from one day to another it is impossible to know what may happen. There was one great event last week, the King ordered the Duke of Monmouth to leave his dominions, a thing which has surprised every one, he having been the greatest favourite a month ago. The King has given no particular reason, only that he has not been satisfied with his conduct for some time past. It seems to me a thousand years until I learn the reason of so great a change. . . ."

The conduct of the Duke of Monmouth had, in fact, exhausted the patience of the most indulgent of fathers. A few days before the first exile of the Duke of York the King had deemed it necessary to make a solemn declaration, countersigned by his Privy Council, as a King and a Christian, that he had never married any other woman than Queen Catherine, then

1679 living ; but this action failed to put a stop to the pretensions of the son of Lucy Waters, and as misfortunes thickened round the heir to the crown, the audacity and openness of Monmouth's and his party's schemes waxed exceedingly. Witnesses were ready to prove the marriage of Charles and Lucy, a mysterious black box was declared to be in safe keeping, containing documentary evidence of the contract, and the young man, whom Lord Peterborough summarily dismisses as "that young viper," daily took upon himself greater airs of royalty, his very footmen styling him "Prince of Wales." The Duke of York's remonstrances when he returned to England were not without effect, and when Lord Sunderland brought him the King's order for his withdrawal into Scotland, it was accompanied with the news of Monmouth's dismissal from England.

The Duke of York was directed, under pretence of taking the Princesses Anne and Isabel to see their sister, to proceed from Brussels to the Hague, where vessels would be sent to take them direct to Scotland. The weather, however, was so boisterous, and made the Duchess of York so ill, that leave was obtained from the King, when they were in the Downs, to come to London, and make the rest of the journey by land. Mary Beatrice writes to her brother from London, November 3, 1679 :—" . . . What changes in our affairs since my last letter ! We go no more to Holland, but have His Majesty's leave to go to Scotland. . . . We have been here ten days, and were received by His Majesty and by all in general with all the courtesy and marks of affection imaginable. Nevertheless we are to leave for Scotland next Monday, to stay there as long as the King pleases. . . . We left our lady mother in Holland, whence she was going to Brussels and then home."

Moved to compassion by her late illness and the fatigues and hardships she had undergone, the King pressed his young sister-in-law to remain in London, but she refused, and James, in his Memoirs, pays tribute to her devotion "who chose rather with the hazard of her life, to be a constant companion of her husband's misfortunes and hardshipps, than to enjoy her

ease in any part of the world without him. But it was a sensible trouble to His Royal Highness to see the Duchess thus obliged to undergo a sort of martirdom for her affection to him." 1679

Leaving the two young Princesses at St. James's, they left London on November 6 for Edinburgh, and Ronchi announces their departure to Prince Rinaldo d'Este :—" . . . The King embraced the Duchess with indescribable affection and attended her to her carriage, and there stood waiting for the Duke, who could not free himself from the multitude of noblemen who had hastened to compliment him, and who in numerous coaches and six followed him for several miles, as did also the Princess Anne. . . . The first night they lay at Hatfield, the second at Biggleswade, and the third they were to stay at Huntingdon. They will make the journey in short stages, spending a few days at York. . . . "

At York the Duke and Duchess were ill-received by the Governor and people, who, " to cover their ill-disposition found for excuse that formerly upon the like occasion they had directions sent them, how to behave." Elsewhere the travellers, on their cold northward journey—" as hard a frost last night as ever I knew," the Duke writes from Durham to Colonel Legge—were hailed with great expressions of loyalty and good-will. Edinburgh was reached the 4th December, and amid salvos of artillery an immense *cortège* of notabilities welcomed them with all imaginable expressions of joy and gratitude for the honour the King and His Royal Highness did the country in his coming to reside among them. The Duke began well in Scotland, relaxing considerably the rigour of the Government :—

" He does not press the levy of troops which he had proposed," writes Barillon to Louis XIV. " He has put a stop to the persecution of the Presbyterians and strives hard to make himself popular ; but his enemies here abate none of their efforts, and hope in the end to exclude him from the succession." Affaires Étrangères

1679 The Duchess writes on Christmas Day, 1679, to the Duke of Modena, congratulating him on his recovery from illness, and adds :—"You do well to divert yourself and not yield yourself a prey to melancholy, who is a sorry friend.[1] You tell me you hear that my lord Duke has been made Vice Roy of Scotland. . . . . but it is not so, for there is no such office. The King sent him here to settle His Majesty's affairs in this country, which I hope may soon be done that we may return home, for although we are treated here by all with so much civility and respect that I should be most happy, I can never be completely so away from London. . . . . You will have heard from Ronchi of the fine doings of the Duke of Monmouth, so I shall not repeat them. . . . ."

There was, in fact, a striking contrast between the prompt obedience of the Duke and Duchess of York to all the King's commands, and the way the Duke of Monmouth disregarded them. His exile to Holland, where he was coolly received by the Prince of Orange, was of short duration, for he returned to London the very day after the Duke of York had set out for Edinburgh, his party receiving him with bonfires and much ringing of bells. The King, "hugely surprised," writes James, "at his venturing to return without leave, sent to him to begone immediately out of the kingdom." No heed being paid to this command, His Majesty "put out of all patience sent him word that if he went not next day out of his kingdom he must never expect to see his face again," and emphasised the order by depriving him of his Captaincy of the Guards. Even then, relying on his father's indulgent fondness, Monmouth only left his lodgings in the Cockpit for his house in Hedge Lane, where Charles permitted him to remain, though he still refused to see him.

The summons home came to the Duke of York more quickly than was expected. Lord Shaftesbury had outwitted himself

[1] In a letter to an aunt at Modena who had complained of great depression of spirits, Mary Beatrice bids her not to give way to sadness,—"Which is the most cowardly and stupid or, to speak less injuriously, the weakest and laziest of all the passions."

by his expedient of getting up petitions to the King in favour of Parliament and against Popery and despotism. Petitions to this effect—for the art of procuring them sprang to perfection in its infancy—at first rained upon the King, to his no small alarm and annoyance; but presently a strong reaction set in. The Cavaliers and Church party, the majority of the gentry and merchants, remembering the results of the similar proceedings of 1641, suddenly came forward with addresses to the King, full of reliance on his wisdom, affection for his person, and abhorrence of the practices of the petitioners, to whom the new term of *Whig* was applied, and who retaliated with that of *Tory* bestowed upon the loyalist *Abhorrers*. The King's delight at this new turn of affairs gave him courage to recall his brother. He told his Council "he found no such effect from his absence as could persuade him to continue it longer . . . . he thought it agreeable both to reason and justice the Duke should be present at the next Session to make his own defence," and accordingly the Duke and Duchess of York, leaving Edinburgh with every mark of good will and protestations of service from the Scots Privy Council, reached London by sea, February 24. 1680

DUCHESS OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"LONDON, 8 *March* 1680.

"I am at last arrived safe and sound in this place, where I hope to remain a long time, if God pleases. I would have written yesterday, but was still too much fatigued by the long sea voyage of eight days, and the number of people about me left me not an ounce of time."

A man now arrived in London who was to prove himself one of the most faithful friends of the house of York, and a fresh and independent witness of its fortunes—Count Terriesi, envoy of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.[1] In a despatch, dated 11 March, to the Secretary of State, he describes the great rejoicings of the Court on the return of the Duke and Duchess, the ringing of bells and the bonfires lasting till night-fall, the only disturbance arising in the vicinity of the Temple, where

[1] Terriesi's despatches are from the Medici Archives, Florence.

1680 some of the disaffected tried to put out the fires, but were dispersed by the guard. He thinks this "public and triumphant entry, which was so little expected, will have shut many people's mouths," and tells how the Lord Mayor and the whole court of Aldermen, with a great number of citizens have paid their respects with every mark of affection to Their Royal Highnesses. "The Duchess of Monmouth also came and was most kindly received by them ; it seems she took the opportunity of begging the Duke to intercede with His Majesty for the pardon of the Duke her consort, and His Royal Highness has undertaken the affair. All these facts should mollify the prejudice the general public has conceived against His Royal Highness on account of his religion ; such marks of generous and Christian goodness must dispel the suspicions that he cherishes purposes of revenge."

Differences had at this time arisen between the Duchess of Modena and her son, and instead of going home from Brussels she arrived in London at the end of March. The Duchess of York rather deprecated this step, and as the visit prolonged itself she did all that was possible, writes Ronchi, to persuade her mother to return to Modena, "even to the point of displeasing her."

The burst of loyalty displayed in the addresses to the King "put a necessity," writes James, "upon those furious zealots to redouble their endeavours of keeping up the jealousies and ferments of the people." A fresh plot was announced in Ireland, which Shaftesbury took up with enthusiasm, and which was to cost the venerable Catholic Prelate, Archbishop Plunket, his life. Barillon writes to Louis XIV in May that he finds the Duke of York sadder and more anxious than he has ever seen him. "He has cause for being so, for, as far as I can judge, Parliament will no sooner meet, than he will run great danger of being entirely abandoned," and again :—"Many persons believe that the power of the Prince of Orange in England will augment as that of the King decreases. . . . . I do not however see that the Duke of York is as persuaded of

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this as he ought to be," and from Windsor on the 1st July :— 1680
"The Duke of York flatters himself that no attempt will be made against the succession, nor the odious question of excluding the legitimate heir agitated. Should this be true his enemies have another mode of attack which they mean to use. It is to accuse him of High Treason ; he is subject to the law of England, and the best thing that could then happen to him would be to leave the country ; for if he enters the Tower, he may never again leave it. The King omits nothing to reassure him, and promises to protect him to the end, but if things come to extremity, there is no appearance that that Prince would hazard all rather than abandon his brother."

A few days later, Lord Shaftesbury, accompanied by the Earl of Huntingdon, Lords Grey de Werke, Gerard of Brandon, Russell and Cavendish, nine commoners and the arch-informer Titus Oates, proceeded to Westminster Hall. Admitted before the Grand Jury, he presented the Duke of York for a recusant, asking for the forfeiture of two-thirds of his estate according to the popery laws, and offering six reasons why he should be looked upon as a papist. The judges adroitly defeated the attempt by the sudden discharge of the jury while some of their number were closeted with Shaftesbury, and Barillon, commenting upon the act writes :—"Although the attempt has been eluded for a time, the intentions of the malcontents remain unshaken, and their boldness can only be based on the hope of being supported by the people. . . . . The Duke of York is much cast down, and knows the peril in which he stands. In truth it is not likely his foes would have raised the mask if they had not only felt they could rely upon the populace, but hoped they would make the King of England abandon him . . . . The Duke of York is pressed by his friends to change his religion. I know the King has spoken strongly to him on the point. He does not seem shaken as yet, but he listens, and he knows there is no other way of saving himself. It has been conveyed to me that the Duchess of York desires at any cost to prevent the Duke from leaving the Kingdom." Affaires Étrangères

1680 And the clear-sighted Ambassador concludes—"Nothing could be more difficult than to judge what would happen if the Duke of York changed his religion. The malcontents would have to change their plans and their measures, and look about for other pretexts, their fears would redouble and they would think themselves in greater danger of being overcome."

The rumour that she could desire her husband to change his religion might have amused Mary Beatrice, had she not been under the shadow of a fresh bereavement. On the 5th August Barillon reports:—"Madame Isabel, the only daughter of the Duchess of York has convulsions and fever;" and from Windsor, September 16:—"The Duke of York is resolved not to go away, and will try what the Session of Parliament may bring forth. He said a word while hunting the other day which has got abroad and is doing him no good. A stag had turned at bay and killed and wounded several hounds. When the Duke came up, he exclaimed:—'That is exactly what the English will drive me to.'"

Parliament met in October, and the enemies of the Duke of York, and his friends also, who believed his life was no longer safe in London, did their utmost to induce him to leave the country. Chief in power of persuasion over the King was the Duchess of Portsmouth, who had been frightened into close alliance with Shaftesbury by his adroit move of indicting her as a common nuisance when he presented the Duke of York for a recusant. She again gave as an excuse for her ill-offices that "the Duchess of York had not shown her so much respect or marks of kindness as she thought her due." At last Charles gave way, in spite of his brother's spirited and repeated protests, and the return of the Duke and Duchess to Scotland was decided upon. Barillon writes to Louis XIV, October 28:—

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"At a Council held the night before last the King raised the question of the dissolution of Parliament or the withdrawal of the Duke of York. No man dared propose a dissolution, it would have been perilous to do so, as it was plainly not in His Majesty's intentions. So it was decided the Duke should

withdraw. . . ." 31 October :—"The Duke and Duchess 1680
embarked yesterday in the river for Scotland. The King conducted them to Leigh. I had a long interview with the Duke, who expressed great grief. He considers himself quite forsaken, and does not believe he will remain long in Scotland. The King, his brother, has nevertheless given him many fair words, telling him that he could not protect him from the House of Commons, and that it would be better to break the Parliament on some other question, such as that of the Bishops, than upon the accusations against him, and that he could not have prevented him from being sent to the Tower. . . . The Duke of York believes the Prince of Orange will soon come here to profit by what has been done against him. . . . He added, in terms of anger and resentment, that if they pushed him too far, and he found himself being entirely ruined by his enemies, he would find a way to make them repent of it . . . this may mean that he hopes to excite troubles in Scotland and in Ireland, and even that he may have a stronger party in England than is supposed."

DUCHESS OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"EDINBURGH, 5 *Nov.* 1680.

". . . . By the help of God I am at last recovered from my journey, and the illness I had before undertaking it. We have no good news from England. Parliament began merrily—(*alla gagliarda*) and my lord Duke is accused of all the evils that have happened in England for the last two years, even to having attempted to procure the murder of the King, a thing which it horrifies me to think of, no less than to speak of! God grant us patience ; I hope He will protect the innocent and reward them, if not in this life, in the other, which is a better one. . . . Here, however, we are well treated by all, and may content ourselves to remain, as they will not have us in England ; but I am afraid they will consider us too well off, and send us farther away. God's holy will be done ; we are prepared for the worst. These, dear brother, are all the tidings I can give you, we have nothing but uncertainties, but I believe things may change for the better in a little while."

1680 A few days later she writes to her uncle, Prince Rinaldo d'Este :—

> ". . . . We had only two days given us to prepare for such a journey: I had just risen from illness, and was weak to the last degree, but being free from fever I took courage and found strength for the voyage by sea, where I suffered much, but with God's help we made land in six days; I recovered as soon as I arrived and am now perfectly well.
>
> I will not stay to tell you my affliction at leaving the children, my friends, and the country, because you can imagine it; what made it worse was that we had had a thousand promises that such a thing should never happen to us again, but the King was persuaded that it would be better for his service, and so ordered his brother to depart, saying it would be better for him also, who immediately obeyed. We have less hope than ever of returning home, as the Duke my lord is accused in Parliament of all the crimes imaginable, even of attempting the life of the King. . . ."

The Bill of Exclusion passed the House of Commons, and was carried by Lord Russell to the House of Lords on the 25th November, where it was rejected by sixty-three votes against thirty; the thirteen Bishops present all voting against it.

Terriesi, the Tuscan envoy, in his account of the proceedings, says :—" The speeches were the boldest and most disrespectful that ever were heard; so that any who heard them need not read the most rabid libels, which, under favour of such procedure, appear every day. The public rage against the Duke has so increased, that when the Pope, the Jesuits and the priests were solemnly burned in effigy on Queen Elizabeth's birthday, there was public talk of burning him also."

DUCHESS OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

" EDINBURGH. 3 *December* 1680.

". . . . O Dio! how things have changed! The House of Commons passed that Exclusion Bill against the Duke, but the House of Lords rejected it, so it means nothing; it is true that now

they are trying to do worse, even in the Lords; to make laws limiting the Duke's authority, if ever he becomes King, and in a word to make of him a king of cards, which would be worse than the exclusion. God knows what effect these proposals will have. It is always in the King's power to save his brother, if he will; others speak of banishing him; as yet we know not what will be resolved upon, we are only certain that it will be nothing good for us." 1681

Before the end of the year the news reached Edinburgh that Lord Stafford, the last and the most illustrious of the direct victims of Titus Oates, had been condemned to death. The Duke of York tried to save the life of his old friend, writing to Colonel Legge, 24 December, that he is surprised at the condemnation, "tho' I knew the malice of some against him would make them press it to the utmost. . . . I am very sorry His Majesty will be so hard put to it, for I hope he will remember the continual trouble it was to the King his father, he having consented to the death of the Earl of Strafford, and not have such a hurt on his conscience. I here enclosed send you a letter to His Majesty: in which I say something upon the subject, which in case he be not yet executed I would have you deliver, but if it has been done, I would have you burn it." Brit. Mus Add. MSS. 18,447, f. 7

DUCHESS OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"EDINBURGH. 14 *January* 1681.

"We are in a thousand uncertainties until Parliament either gets the upper hand or is dissolved; please God the latter may happen soon, for things have become intolerable. That Lord [Stafford] who was condemned for the plot against the King, was beheaded on Wednesday last, and died with great constancy, declaring his innocence, upon his soul, of all he was accused of, and making a most beautiful discourse before his death."

To Prince Rinaldo d'Este, a few days later, she is able to announce the wished-for dissolution of Parliament, which took place on the 18th January:— . . . "So, for two months we shall have peace, as the King has summoned a new one to meet on the 1 April, not in London but at Oxford, so as to

1681 avoid tumults and cabals; please God it may be better than the last; I doubt it, however, as I cannot believe that in so short a time those people will change their opinions. We are not spoken of, and we desire most ardently to go home; we have petitioned the King to let us return, but have no answer yet."

Exile was to be made doubly cruel to the Duke and Duchess of York by the death of the little Princess Isabel at St. James's Palace on the 2nd February at the age of five, and the Duchess turns once more in her sorrow to her old friends in the quiet cloister at Modena.

To Sister Mary Laura.

"Edinburgh. 31 *March*, 1681.

Archives Visitation Convent, Modena

"At this hour you will have heard of the great affliction it has pleased God to send me, in taking from me one of the dearest things I had in the world, and which I hoped He would have left me in His goodness to be a comfort in my afflictions, but *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sit nomen Domini benedictum*: I think I have said this from my heart with the help of God; and when I think that now my child is happy, and that if she had lived she might have run great dangers, when I think of all this, I comfort myself, and if I could keep other thoughts away, I should not be afflicted; but the senses and the lower part of nature cannot help giving way, yet God be praised for all . . . Parliament will soon assemble at Oxford; what it may do God knows.

There is a new accuser in the field, who not only accuses the Duke, but also my dear mamma for plotting to kill the King; and he says the Marquis Felice Montecuculi offered him £10,000 to kill His Majesty, but that he would not do it. See what wickedness and falsehood are in the world! But God will at last prove the innocence of the just. The accuser is in prison for having written libels against the King; he is to be tried, and the penalty is death. I believe he makes these accusations, hoping to obtain a general pardon from the King as his fellows did; but His Majesty has refused and declares that, if the law allows it, he will have him hanged . . . . God knows when we shall go home. It costs me less now to be away, as my child is no longer there."

The informer of whom the Duchess writes was Fitzharris, 1681
one of the numerous imitators of Oates and Bedloe, who had arisen during the past two years. He was noteworthy chiefly for a burlesque improvement upon the usual tale of assassination of the King, burning, and massacre: viz., that several Members of Parliament were to be boiled down to make a *Sainte Ampoule*, to be used at future coronations. Even the credulity of panic seemed staggered, for from this time the fabric of lies began to totter to its fall, and Fitzharris was tried and hanged in spite of the strenuous efforts of the House of Commons to wrest him from the hands of the law. It is a curious fact that, although the accusers spared neither her mother, her secretary, nor her chaplain, nor even the Queen Consort, they never made any direct attack upon Mary Beatrice herself. This immunity may possibly have been partly due to the affection which had undoubtedly sprung up between the people and her, and which, as we have seen, Macpherson declared subsisted until the end.

In March, 1681, the Duchess gave birth to a child, which did not live. She writes to a nun at Modena, telling of her illness and sorrow:—"But I console myself with the thought that I have more angels to pray for me, and I ought to esteem myself honoured that, while other women give their children to the world, I have given all mine to God, in whose mercy I still hope that He may some day comfort me by giving me a male child who shall live, and yet in the end gain Heaven. . . ." Archives Visitation Convent, Modena

Writing to congratulate her brother on his birthday, she says:—"You are now twenty years old, and do not yet think of marrying; pray do not defer it too long, and remember that you are alone."

The Parliament which met at Oxford at the end of March fulfilled Mary Beatrice's fear that the majority of its members would be found in the same hostility against the Duke of York. The Exclusion Bill was immediately read a first time, and ordered a second reading, when the King, seizing the pretence of the discord between the two Houses on the

1681 impeachment of Fitzharris, suddenly summoned the Commons to the chamber of Peers, and with the unexpected words :—"My Lords and Gentlemen : That all the world may see to what a point we are come, that we are not like to have a good end when the divisions at the beginning are such, therefore, my Lord Chancellor, do as I have commanded you," dissolved the Parliament, which had only sat seven days, and which was to prove the last of his reign. This high-handed act, as Lingard observes, no doubt saved England from the horrors of a civil war.

Meanwhile the struggle over the exclusion of the Duke of York continued, the Dutch and even the Spanish envoys doing their best, writes James, to persuade the King to consent to it. "His Majesty was battered on all hands, though the only bulwark the Duke had in this extremity . . . nevertheless he was so true to his own and the Duke's interest as not to abandon him in the main point at least."

Brit, Mus. Add. MSS. 18,447, f. 39, b

Into these troubled waters the Prince of Orange now thought fit to descend, and arrived at Windsor, 24 July ; his father-in-law, on receipt of the news, writing to Colonel Legge :—"I was indeed surprised with the news of the Prince of Orange coming into England as well as you were, and am of your mind as to the reason of his coming at this time ; it must be your parts that are upon the place to look well that no harm be done. Pray be very much with His Majesty, when he is there, to observe what passes, and I think if the Prince be spoken homely to, if his head be not quite wrong turned, his eyes will be opened, and he (will) see how he has been abused by those who gave him measure of affairs in England."

"He carried fair at first," writes James, "but soon showed that tho' his pretence was succours for Flanders and Holland, yet it was easily understood that succours could not be obtained but by a Parliament, and to be sure the Duke would be sacrificed as a preliminary before a penny could be hoped for." The King, according to Ronchi, upbraided him severely for his intrigues against the Duke of York, and "he departed ill-satisfied from England."

The Scotch Parliament now opened, and the Duchess of York writes to the Marchioness of Huntley :— 1681

"EDINBURGH $\frac{5}{15}$ *August* 1681.

". . . . The ceremonie of the Parliament was extremely fine. Most people were plaised with the Duke's speech ; and the major part seemes resolved to do thyre duty ; I pray God they may, and that all this may be well over. . . ."

DUCHESS OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"EDINBURGH 2 *September*.

"Parliament is doing very well, which is a comfort to all good people . . . I hope it may soon be over, and then we hope to return home ; that the King will not refuse permission to the Duke to give him a personal account of his mission here. . . ." Spalding Misc. vol. iii.

Barillon, reporting to Louis XIV the important fact that the Scottish Parliament had passed an Act continuing the right of Excise five years beyond the life of the present King, says :— "This has been done in favour of the Duke of York, and to give him the means to maintain troops and the charges of Government if he comes to the throne. It is certain that the Duke has obtained all he wanted from the Scotch Parliament, and has carried himself with prudence and firmness ; but that will avail him nothing with regard to English affairs."

James's conduct in Scotland, aspersed as it has been by Burnet and his followers, who made history "an engine for faction more than the vehicle of truth," seems to have deserved Barillon's meed of praise. His Court was magnificent, he, "spending of his own," reports Ronchi to the Duke of Modena, and "Their Royal Highnesses are daily more beloved here in Scotland for the sincerity and justice with which the Duke proceeds in public affairs." Princess Anne had arrived at Edinburgh in July, and many were the gay doings at Holyrood—music and dancing in its ancient halls—and Ronchi makes mention of a tragedy, "Mithridates," acted by the Duke's courtiers ; "all went well and with the utmost magnificence." The Duchess of York, supreme in stature and

1682 beauty among the ladies of her Court, reigned in it with youthful dignity and grace. Her chaplain complains, indeed, that she spends herself too much on her devotions to the disapproval of her doctor, but in another report tells of her new and keen delight in riding, "which greatly pleases the Duke, who admires her in that habit and carrying herself in so masterly a fashion." Then October 2: "The Duchess fell from her horse, and injured her left side."

DUCHESS OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"EDINBURGH, 21 April 1682

". . . . My lord the Duke is still in England, and receives a thousand favours and kindnesses from the King. They went from Newmarket to London, where His Majesty wishes me to come, and in three weeks the Duke will come and fetch me in a big vessel, which will be safer and have less motion than the yachts. I hope God will protect me and that I may safely get home after an absence of a year and a half. I am sorry you disapprove of my going, for it is certainly the best thing for our interests, for now the Duke is so popular and well thought of by all that they would never allow him to leave the country, and if he remain there, I certainly cannot remain here. He has only been away a month and it seems already more than I can bear. . . ."

A few days later she writes to Lady Bellasys:—"I have really been so ill for these many months that i have hardly been able to writ at all; my falls did hinder me for some time,[1] and since, my being with child has done it. . . . I hope i shall be at London, for the Duke has promised to com for me the beginning of next month, by the end of which i hope wee shall meet at St. James's . . . . "

It was the Duchess of Portsmouth, without intending it, who had put an end to the Duke of York's exile. Desirous of securing a safe income in case of the King's death—"knowing that His Majesty's necessities were too great," writes James, "to comply with her expectations . . . . the only shift she could think of, was to prevail upon him to propose to the Duke to settle upon her a rent charge of £5,000 a

[1] She had had a second and more serious fall from her horse.

year out of the Post Office for 50 years, and to promise 1682
His Royal Highness an equivalent out of the hereditary Excise. . . . The Duke was always too complyant to refuse anything the King desired, and too sensible of the Duchess of Portsmouth's power to think he could purchase her favour too dear. . . . He answered that all he had in the world was from His Majesty and was at his disposal," but that he must be allowed to come to town "both to consult the manner, and performe what was necessary for such a conveyance, which he knew if the Duchess of Portsmouth were once convinced of, she would move heaven and earth to bring it about." The bait took, the Duke was summoned to Newmarket, and then to London, where the lawyers discovered, what James, indeed, knew all the time, that nothing but an Act of Parliament could make the conveyance valid, or empower him to alienate any part of his revenue. "Having thus turn'd the Duchess of Portsmouth's avarice to so signal an advantage without any damage to his estate," writes James with not unnatural satisfaction, "and yet warded himself from her anger, he had the less to apprehend from her mighty credit with the King."

"The 3rd of May, 1682, the Duke of York left Windsor to fetch the Duchess. He sailed in the "Gloucester" frigate, with several smaller vessels in attendance, and through the unskilfulness or treachery of Captain Ayres the pilot (who was afterwards tried and condemned), the vessel was lost on the Lemmon sands. Mr. Samuel Pepys, who was with the Duke, sent a lively account of the disaster to his friend, Mr. W. Hewen, ascribing it to the "obstinate over-winning of the pilot in opposition to all the contrary opinions," including that of the Duke himself. Many lives were lost, though most of the persons of quality and the Duke's servants were saved, and James himself carried the news of the wreck and his own escape to his wife. The voyage was safely accomplished, and on 27 May the travellers arrived at Whitehall, where Charles had come from Windsor to receive them, "to the unspeakable joy of them all."

1682 The Duke and Duchess of York were well received by the people, as well as by the Court, although Terriesi does not fail to notify to the Court of Tuscany that amid the general rejoicings on the evening of their arrival, the Whigs in divers parts of the city attempted to put out the bonfires lighted in their honour; also that when, the day after, the King was seized with sudden illness while in Church, the said Whigs busied themselves greatly, "holding meetings, and writing, saying, printing with increasing malice all they can to render the person of the Duke odious to the populace." Nevertheless, Dryden's Epistle to the Duchess may have fairly represented the feelings of the majority of the people, and certainly welcome has seldom been expressed in more charming verse :—

"When factious rage to cruel exile drove
The Queen of beauty and the Court of love,
The Muses droop'd, with their forsaken arts,
And the sad Cupids broke their useless darts.
* * *
Love was no more, when loyalty was gone,
The great supporter of his awful throne,
Love could no longer after beauty stay,
But wandered northward to the verge of day,
As if the sun and he had lost their way.
* * *
Pleasing, yet cold, like Cynthia's silver beam,
The people's wonder, and the poet's theme—
Distemper'd Zeal, Sedition, canker'd Hate
No more shall vex the Church, and tear the State;
No more shall Faction civil discords move,
Or only discords of too tender love;
* * *
Discord, that only this dispute shall bring,
Who best shall love the Duke, and serve the King."

The knowledge she had by now acquired of the conjugal infidelity of the Duke was the cause of passionate grief to the Duchess of York. Too high-spirited and too proud to bear this injury with silent resignation, there occurred more than once what a writer of the previous century called "shorte

tragedies" between husband and wife on account of Catherine Sedley, the ill-favoured but witty daughter of Sir Charles Sedley by his wife Catherine, daughter of John Savage, Earl Rivers. Catherine was maid of honour to the Duchess, and as early as 1673, when she was sixteen, John Evelyn had described her as "none of the most virtuous, but a wit." Writing of this period of Mary Beatrice's life, her husband's biographer, Clarke, remarks that King Charles, in his "mighty love and esteem" for her personal merit, "compassionated in some measure her sufferings more than the Duke's, because she went a whole sharer with him in all his misfortunes, and had over and above some private grievances of her own. . . . her passionate love for her husband made their joint affliction easy to her, but rendered the other more insupportable. . . . but she lived not much longer before she had the satisfaction of seeing him not only become a perfect rival of her vertue, but a most exemplar and fervent penitent for the Sinns of his former life." 1682

On the morning of August $\frac{15}{25}$, 1682, the Duchess of York gave birth to a daughter, "all passing so quickly," writes Terriesi to the Florentine Secretary of State, "that not only the King and the Duke, but even the nurse did not arrive in time. "The friends of the Court had counted upon a Prince, and are the more disappointed, and the Duke is full of melancholy." The child was baptised by the name of Charlotte Mary, and the next day James returned to Windsor. Barillon informs Louis XIV :—"The Duke's enemies rejoice that he has not got a son. They think it would have rendered the project of his exclusion impossible. The hopes of the Prince of Orange would have been deferred, and the Duke of Monmouth's dreams somewhat dispelled. Madame de Portsmouth told me the King greatly hoped the Duke of York would have had a son, that it would have helped to dissipate the factions of the malcontents." Three weeks later the child died of convulsions, and the French Ambassador reports the great affliction of the Duke, "who has lost the hope that any child of his can live." Affaires Étrangères

1683 With the end of the year 1682 there passed from the scene the oldest and most inveterate enemy of the house of York. Lord Shaftesbury had fallen into disgrace after his failure to pass the Exclusion Bill, and the judicial murder of Archbishop Plunket, justly laid at his door, had been immediately followed by his own indictment and imprisonment, the very witnesses against Plunket accusing him of having suborned them to give false witness against the Queen, the Duke of York, the Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the mob, which had been his pliant instrument on so many occasions, now turning upon him in the reaction of its new-found loyalty, and hooting him on his way to the Tower. The Grand Jury threw out the bill, but his credit and his influence were gone ; his signal political blunder in espousing the cause of the King's illegitimate son disgusted all moderate men, and the wildness of his present schemes alarmed his own supporters. He formed plans of insurrection in different parts of the country with Walcot, Rumsey, and Ferguson, men of desperate fortunes and equally desperate councils, and at the same time sued for pardon from the Duke of York, who returned the cautious answer :— "Though the Earl of Shaftesbury has been my worst enemy, all offences shall be forgiven whenever he becomes a dutiful subject of the King." Hearing that a fresh warrant was to be issued against him, he lay for some days concealed in obscure houses in the City and Wapping, and finally fled to Holland in the disguise of a Presbyterian minister, dying about two months after his departure from England.

Barillon writes to Louis XIV, 8 February, 1683 :—"The death of Lord Shaftesbury is held for certain here. It will make no great difference to the party of which he was reputed the chief. Nevertheless, the King and the Duke of York believe they are rid of a very dangerous enemy. . . . "

That Shaftesbury's death made no great difference in the aims and workings of his party was soon to be abundantly proved, and the Duchess of York sends news of an important event to her brother :—

"WINDSOR, 25 *June* 1683. 1683

". . . . I have great news to send you—not of a false, but of a real plot devised by the Presbyterians against the persons of the King and the Duke. It has been revealed by one of the conspirators, and others have been arrested who confess the same thing, namely, that when the King and Duke returned from Newmarket, they were to be met by a number of horsemen drawn up at a certain spot to kill them both, and at the same time there was to be a rising in London, and different parts of the country; this would certainly have succeeded had not the fire which happened at Newmarket hastened the King's return to London by a few days, so the plotters were not ready in time—admirable effect of Divine Providence, ever to be praised! Some are in prison, and their confessions agree; it is said that Shaftesbury, who is dead, knew it all, but it is believed that many (living) men of quality were cognisant of it, and it is hoped they will be discovered. The King goes to London to-morrow because of all this, and I leave within half-an-hour, so finish in haste . . . .

MARIA."

The conspiracy of which the Duchess writes is known to history as the Rye House Plot, and she refers to it again in a letter to the Superior of the Visitation at Modena.

"18 *July* 1683.

". . . . I do not know if you have heard from my lady mother of the horrid conspiracy here against the King and the Duke, my lord, and which would certainly have succeeded, if God had not miraculously preserved them. Now all is discovered; there are thirty-six persons in prison, among them several men of quality; many have confessed everything, and the greater number will be condemned to death.

I beg you to help me to thank God for our preservation; and certainly I hope this may be of great benefit to the Catholics, for now they will be fully justified of the plot of which they were accused, and which was most false."

Rewards of £100 each had been offered for the apprehension of Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and Robert Ferguson, while £500 was offered for the Duke of Monmouth, "the King desiring to have him dead or alive," writes Codebò, the

1683 Duchess Laura's secretary, from Brussels to Prince Rinaldo d'Este, "as being the prime artificer of this conjuration, which, had it succeeded, would have established a Republic and made him Protector and head, just like the late Cromwell." Monmouth and the other four made good their escape, but Lord Howard of Escrick was taken and became one of the chief witnesses against Lord Russell, who was executed 21 July, 1683, the trial and execution of Algernon Sydney following shortly after, while Monmouth, casting himself once again on his father's mercy, was forgiven not only by the King, but also by the Duke of York, to whom he promised, that if James should survive the King, he himself would be the first to draw the sword in defence of his right whenever occasion might require.

The discovery of the Rye House Plot undoubtedly gave the King the undisputed superiority over his opponents for the rest of his reign, and the Duke and Duchess of York enjoyed in consequence a grateful period of tranquillity and prosperity, culminating in the restoration of the Duke to his old office of Lord High Admiral, and his readmission to the Privy Council. He had already, at the end of 1682, put a check upon the boldness of his calumniators by bringing an action of *Scandalum Magnatum* against Pilkington, the Whig ex-Sheriff of London, for having said before witnesses that the Duke of York, after burning the city fourteen years before, "has now come back to cut our throats." Pilkington was found guilty, and condemned to pay a fine of £100,000.

On July 28, the Princess Anne was married to Prince George of Denmark, and her young step-mother writes a graceful letter of satisfaction "at this new alliance between our two Houses" to the King of Denmark, and a few months later domestic concerns, interesting her more nearly, claimed her attention. For some time the Duchess Laura of Modena had not been on good terms with her son, and was practically an exile from his Court, dividing her time between Brussels and London, the chief cause of disagreement being the young Duke's

Duchess Laura of Modena.
Miniature in the possession of Visitation Convent, Modena

matrimonial affairs, and the laxity of morals at Modena attributed to the influence of his cousin, Prince Cesare d'Este. The Duchess of York writes to her brother, 22 November, 1683, telling him of the Duke of Monmouth's readmission to the Royal favour—"which surprises everybody, although no one dares say so, seeing the King so well inclined towards him. . . . and as to me, I can hardly write of it for fear my pen should run into saying what is in my heart, so I will not speak of it, and beg you not to write or speak of it with passion, for fear letters might be opened." She goes on to say :—"I have also heard another piece of news which I cannot believe, because on many accounts it is so improbable ; it is that you are for marrying that cousin of yours who is at Modena, sister of the three Princes. I hope to God you will never think of so disadvantageous a marriage, and what is more, that you will make a far better choice, but never this one, according to my judgment, for it would be ridiculous, she (that cousin) being older than you, without a farthing, and not even of equal condition. Forgive me, dear brother, if I speak too plainly, the zeal I have for your good and your honour, and my affection for you carrying me away. For pity's sake answer me soon on this particular, and pacify me with the assurance that you do not think of it. Forgive the anxiety of a sister who loves you from her heart, and who desires your good and your advantage as dearly as her own." 1683

In April, 1684, the Duchess Laura was in Paris, and there her son's envoy, Count Nigrelli, on his way to England with congratulations on the discovery of the Rye House Plot, had orders to "make all humiliations and respects to her" from the Duke, reports Terriesi, to persuade her to return to Modena. This she declines to do, and having obtained leave from Innocent XI. to choose four Ursuline nuns from a monastery in Flanders, took them with her to Rome, and founded a convent which exists to the present day.

Several prosecutions were at this time brought against some of the chief enemies of the King and the Duke, and Terriesi,

1684 reporting the condemnation of "that scoundrel Oates" to pay a fine of £100,000 for *Scandalum Magnum* against the Duke of York, adds:—"When the news was carried to him in prison, I am told he put his hand in his pocket, and said he had not the money about him, but Parliament would take care to pay all his debts."

The Duchess of York, who had been suddenly and alarmingly ill in May, went to Tunbridge in June, and a letter from the Duke to the Prince of Orange shows the good intelligence which still existed between her and her step-daughter, the Princess Anne, who had now been married nearly a year to Prince George of Denmark. "The Duchess intends to Tunbridge on Monday. My daughter the Princess of Denmark designs to go there to keep her company, but not to take the waters."

Dalrymple's Appendix

Later in the year the Duke and Duchess of York visited Winchester and Salisbury, and Ronchi, in his report to Modena, 2 October, 1684, is full of the magnificence of the entertainment given by the Bishop of Salisbury, in whose palace the royal visitors and their suite of a hundred persons were lodged; of the visit to Stonehenge and to the Cathedral, and the dinner at Wilton:—"The house of Mylord Pembroke, a studious youth of twenty-five, who succeeded his brother a year or two ago. . . . After the dinner, which was most splendid, Their Royal Highnesses hunted with Lord Pembroke's harriers in his vast park, and then visited the gardens and the very curious fountains. . . . Our Duchess rides on horseback ten miles every day during this voyage, and is perfectly well. She is hunting again to-day."

A grand review on Putney Heath took place after their return, Mary Beatrice assisting at it in company with the Queen and the Princess of Denmark, but her present tranquillity was soon to be disturbed by no less an event than a rupture between the Court of France and the Duke of Modena, Prince Cesare d'Este being again the cause of trouble. He had allowed his sister, Angelica Catherine, to marry Amedée, Prince of

Carignan, without asking the permission of the King of France, 1684
who intended the Prince, one of his feudatories, to marry a French subject of his own choosing. The Duke of Savoy, in writing to inform Louis XIV of the marriage, said it had taken place without his knowledge or consent, and Rizzini writes dejectedly from Paris, 22 November :—"In this rupture between the Courts of France and Modena, on account of the marriage of the Prince of Carignan, the Court of St. James is the only one that can have any influence in the solution of this important affair. . . ." And again, a few days later, reporting that Cardinal Bouillon had offered his good offices on his (Rizzini's) behalf with the King, Louis XIV had "flown into a fury. His Majesty has written to the Duke of Savoy to break the marriage, if any cause of nullity can be found."

As the bridegroom seems to have been over fifty years of age, and, although born deaf and dumb, a gallant and studious prince, it is satisfactory to know that Louis failed in his autocratic attempt to break the marriage. He dismissed Rizzini from France, who took refuge in London, throwing himself upon the kindness and protection of the Duchess of York, who did her utmost to bring about a reconciliation between France and Modena, as well as to persuade the French Ambassador Barillon to see Rizzini and hear his excuses.

The matter made some stir in the Italian diplomatic circle, Terriesi writing to Florence :—"Here it is not doubted but that Prince Cesare of Modena will be banished. The Duchess of York replied to the French Ambassador that the King of France was quite right in what he did, adding that he (Prince Cesare) was the cause of the Duchess of Modena living in exile, and of all the misfortunes of that state." The Venetian envoy Archives of Venice
Vignola writes to the Doge that King Charles is being urged to intercede for the recall of Prince Cesare, banished by the Duke of Modena to satisfy Louis XIV :—"This is against the wish of the Duchess of York, who is not unwilling that Prince [Cesare] should suffer some mortification as a check upon his constant practices against the Mother Duchess, now in Rome, keeping

1685 her away from her own home, and the Duchess of York further desires that her brother the Duke may be freed from the oppression the other exercised on him."

The King of France now turned his attention to the choice of a bride for the Duke of Modena, and sends orders to Barillon to propose one of the richest heiresses in France, Mademoiselle de Bouillon, daughter of Maurice, Duc de Bouillon, and Marie Anne Mancini. Mary Beatrice is delighted, and Barillon writes 15 January, 1685, that she is sending a special messenger at once with the proposal to Modena. He adds :—"The Duchess of York also wished to entreat Your Majesty to permit M. Rizzini to return to France, but he himself judges that the time has not yet come to implore such a favour from Your Majesty, and that it would be proper to wait until a reply has come from Modena to the letters written from here touching the retirement of Prince Cesare d'Este from the States of the Duke." Three days later the French Ambassador reports :—"The Duke of York has told me the King of England has entered upon the subject of the marriage as on a matter which would be very agreeable to him. His Majesty will tell the Duchess of York that she could not do better than use all her endeavours to bring this alliance to pass."

Affaires Étrangères

Upon these schemes of marriage and giving in marriage there came a sudden interrupting shock. Barillon's despatch of February 12 ends with these words :—"At this point of my letter I am informed of the King of England's seizure this morning."

This apoplectic seizure was the beginning of the end, and for five days the death-bed of the King, whom, with all his faults, they loved, became, in alternation of hope and fear, the object round which centred the affectionate interest of his subjects. Mary Beatrice has herself described, to the nuns of Chaillot, how she hastened to the King's chamber, and found there the Queen and the Duke of York, and her alarm at the drastic remedies inflicted by the doctors on the unconscious sufferer—

a red-hot iron on his head, his teeth held open by force.— 1685
"After I had been there some time, the Queen, who had Chaillot Journal Archives Nationales, Paris
hitherto kept silence, approached me and said :—'Sister, I beg you to tell the Duke, who knows as I do the sentiments of the King towards the Catholic religion, to do what he can to profit by any good moment.'" The Queen then retired, and nearly an hour passed before the Duke of York looked at his wife, so occupied was he with the King. At last he chanced to look her way, and she signed to him that she had something to say. He approached, and she gave him the Queen's message. "I know," he said, "I am thinking of nothing else." But the room was soon crowded with people—five Bishops, according to Fraser, twenty-five lords and privy-councillors, and even at night four doctors, ten officers, an apothecary, a surgeon, and several inferior servants, whilst the Bishops succeeded each other at the King's bedside.

Rizzini begins his minute account to the Duke of Modena the day of the attack—"which took place at eight o'clock this morning, as the barber was about to shave his Majesty"—by expressing the fear that if the King should die, "the conjunction might be hazardous to the succession owing to the present cabals and dissension in the Council," an allusion to the fresh intrigues of Lords Sunderland and Halifax and the Duchess of Portsmouth in favour of the Duke of Monmouth. On the 15th February he reports that the King is somewhat better :—"His Royal Highness never leaves His Majesty . . . and the Duchess of York visits him from time to time ; she is much afflicted, noticing a state of weakness which prevents any certain hope of recovery. Immediately upon the King's seizure, orders were sent to close all sea-ports, and to let no ship go out. Letters from foreign ports are allowed to enter the kingdom, but no travellers, in case the Duke of Monmouth or other suspected persons should arrive at this conjuncture. However, everything is quiet. The populace was stunned by the first news, which announced the King as dead, and the grief is very great ; the shops are all closed, all work is stopped,

1685 and the people are running to Whitehall, where the guard is doubled, and no one allowed to enter but persons of the Court or well known. . . . P.S. Before closing my letter I hear the King is much worse. Their Royal Highnesses are with His Majesty. The Duchess may write this evening, but I doubt if the letter will leave."

"16 *February* 1685.

". . . . The King expired a few minutes after mid-day. I cannot describe the resignation, the courage and piety displayed by His Majesty . . . . which drew tears from those around him. . . . He adjured the great officers of the Crown standing by his bed to be loyal to his royal brother, the legitimate heir to the throne, assuring them they would find him a better ruler than he himself had been. To the Duke he recommended his four sons, the Dukes of Grafton, Northumberland, St. Albans and Richmond, making no mention of the Duke of Monmouth. With his own hand he gave the keys of his cabinet to His Royal Highness. . . . Compassionating the fatigue of the gentlemen who attended him day and night, he apologised to them from time to time for being so slow in dying. All these things he said with affectionate intrepidity, in a loud voice, during the intervals free from violent pain, and sometimes he spoke in a whisper to the Duke. He remained conscious until 9 o'clock, three hours before his death. His Royal Highness then left the bedside, to carry the sad tidings to the Duchess of York, who was also in excessive sorrow, and almost at the same moment the Lord Chancellor, with the Seals in his hands, accompanied by the Privy Council, came to salute the new King and Queen. . . . The King then went to the Council Chamber, and the Queen to the apartments of the Queen Dowager to make her condolences—which were made more in sobs than in words. . . . The proclamation of the new King in the City was received with applause, shouts and demonstrations of joy greater than could ever have been hoped for . . ."—20 *February* :—"I may now add, what I did not dare write in my last letter, that the King died a Catholic. . . . The fact is well known in the town, and has been written abroad by so many, that I need no longer hesitate to tell it. . . . It was that good Benedictine, Huddleston, who saved the King's life after the battle of Worcester, who now co-operated to save his soul. From his own lips I have it that the evening before the King's death he was summoned to hear his confession, but as he is well known at Court

he was advised to cover his baldness with a periwig, and to change the very simple coat the good old man of seventy-seven is in the habit of wearing. The King did not recognise him until he had removed his wig." 1685

Charles received the last Sacraments "with full consciousness" said Huddleston, "and the greatest compunction that could be wished for in a true penitent."

It had been a matter of much delicacy and danger for the Duke of York; he had watched the King's refusal to receive the Sacrament from the Bishops, whilst freely disclosing his repentance for the sins of his life, and at last, kneeling by the bedside, there ensued the short dialogue between the brothers recorded by the Duke himself:—"You have refused the Protestant Communion. Shall I send for a Catholic priest?" "For God's sake, brother, do! and lose no time, but—will you not expose yourself too much by doing it?"—It was an act of high treason to reconcile any one to the Church of Rome.—"Sir, though it cost me my life, I will bring one to you." The King desired that all should withdraw before Huddleston's arrival, but the Duke "thought fit that mylord of Bath, who was Lord of the Bed-Chamber then in waiting, and mylord Feversham, the Captain of his Guards, should remain in the room, telling the King it was not fit he should be quite alone with His Majesty, considering the weak condition he was in." The two Lords were, of course, Protestants, but their faithful silence could be counted upon, while their presence was a safeguard to the Duke himself.

Barillon and Terriesi in their despatches express their astonishment at the quiet manner in which all is going on, and in truth no prince ever succeeded more tranquilly to the throne, than did the Duke of York to that of England.

CHAPTER V

1685 QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"22 *February* 1685.

"DEAR BROTHER,

I cannot possibly describe the state of confusion and dismay in which we have been since the almost sudden death of our King, who, after a frightful seizure on the $\frac{2}{12}$, as you have heard from Abbé Rizzini—I not being in a fit state to write—never recovered, but died on the $\frac{6}{16}$, leaving us afflicted to the last degree by so great a loss. As for me, I have been ill ever since, and yesterday and to-day have been in bed, but this evening I feel better, and can just write these two lines, charging Abbé Rizzini to acquaint you with what concerns your own affairs, which, to tell you the truth, afflict me greatly, seeing that you are pursuing all the paths to your own ruin. I hope to God that it may be in my power to serve you, although I see that you do not trust in me.

I must not omit to tell you that our own affairs are going extremely well, and all in general seem satisfied with the Duke my lord, who was proclaimed king immediately after his brother's death. I shall write to you more at length by an envoy we are sending you in a few days, and now I can only assure you that, in whatever condition I shall find myself, I shall, ever with a true heart, be yours.

MARIA."

The occasion of the Queen's displeasure with her brother was that he had declined to espouse Mademoiselle de Bouillon.

There seems to have been unanimous praise of James' first acts. The Venetian envoy writes to the Doge of the excellent *début* of the King, and the favourable impression caused by his

first speech : "Moreover, His Majesty caused universal edification immediately after his brother's death by dismissing, without even consenting to see her, his own mistress [Catherine Sedley] with orders to leave Whitehall and its precincts, while allowing her a pension for life of £600 if she remains in the kingdom, or of £1,000 if she will go abroad, with other generous treatment. To the late King's mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, he has signified that, as soon as she has satisfied her creditors, she may leave Whitehall and cross the seas at her pleasure, with all the great riches she has amassed in fifteen years, during which time she directed, one may say, or at least had the greatest share, in both home and foreign affairs. . . ." 1685 Archives of Venice

Benedetto Gennari, a nephew of the famous painter Guercino, and himself a distinguished portraitist, and one of the founders of the Academy of Bologna, had gone to France in 1674 with a compatriot, a Bolognese gentleman, Francesco Riva. Gennari was well received by Louis XIV, and a few years later both he and Riva made for London, where he painted several fine portraits of Queen Catherine, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and others, and was under the special protection of the Duchess of York, who gave him many orders. In a letter from Scotland, in 1682, Ronchi complained that the Duchess could not send a portrait she had promised to Modena, as there was not a single painter in Scotland, and she must wait until she arrived in London, when Gennari would paint her. Riva, upon her accession, was appointed Keeper of her Wardrobe, and both he and Gennari followed her into exile.

The archives of Modena contain a letter from Gennari to his brother $\frac{16}{26}$ February, 1685, "confirming the jubilee and rejoicing of this people in acclaiming the Duke of York as legitimate heir to the Crown. We went yesterday to pay our respects to His Majesty and to Queen Mary, by whom we were received with the utmost benignity. His Majesty shows himself very resolute in his acts, and on Sunday allowed himself to be publicly seen at Mass. . . . May God give him the grace to reign peacefully ! . . ."

1685

THE VENETIAN ENVOY TO THE REPUBLIC.

"LONDON, *March* 9. 1685.

Archives of Venice

"The King continues with untiring application in the pursuit of the Government with so much measure and resolution that all are silenced, and as to the point of religion, on which formerly there was endless murmuring, those who used to be the most contrary and tumultuous have changed their tone and have become indifferent, seeing that nothing is changed in the laws, nor the liberty of the Anglican Church in any way restricted; every day the people throng at all hours to pray for His Majesty according to the orders published, the name of the late King being changed in the prayers for that of James II. . . . He is determined to keep a moderate household, punctually paid, all the more since the outlay has ceased with which the late King generously and splendidly maintained so many sons and other persons."

Herbert Papers

Vignola might have added that James resolutely brought to order the lawless manners of the Court. "On Sunday last, the King going to Mass told his attendants he had been informed that since declaring against the disorder of the household, some had the impudence to appear drunk in the Queen's presence. 'Tis thought he reflected upon the D. of A. [St. Albans?] but he advised them at their peril to observe his orders, which he would see obeyed." James also objected to duelling. "I know a man," he said, "who has fought nine duels, and yet is a very coward, having manifestly shown himself so during an engagement at sea." In these reforms the King was energetically supported by his consort—too much so, perhaps, for the taste of courtiers accustomed to so different a sway, and, as will presently be seen, Mary Beatrice insisted upon a reform still more striking in a Court which had been that of Charles II.

Meanwhile, her brother's marriage, or rather his reluctance to accept a bride at the hands of Louis XIV, greatly occupied the new Queen. Barillon writes to the French King 22 March, 1685:—

"Abbé Rizzini came to me from the Queen of England to

say that as soon as she is a little better, she means to send back the Duke of Modena's messenger, and to write to him in the strongest terms, to oblige him either to send Prince Cesare out of his dominions, or to decide upon concluding the marriage with Mlle. de Bouillon; that if he does not resolve upon one or other of these courses, Her Majesty will declare her approval of any measures Your Majesty may take to make Prince Cesare sensible of his fault, and that far from protecting him, she will never employ herself to obtain any relaxation from Your Majesty towards him. The King of England will also write to the Duke of Modena in the same sense; they will both insist upon the reasons in favour of the marriage, and will combat the objections Prince Cesare has prompted him to make, pretending that the proposition was a violation of his liberty." 1685 Affaires Étrangères

Both the King and Queen were now much occupied in receiving compliments upon their accession. John Evelyn, who had been one of the first to pay his homage, records the affliction, which he declares sincere, of her who "deported herselt so decently upon all occasions since she came to England, which made her universally beloved." She received her Court, seated under a mourning canopy of state, with a black foot cloth; and Terriesi notes a new departure by the King from the ceremonial of the debonnair Charles:—"The King receives all the foreign representatives who come to compliment him on his accession seated with his hat on his head in a special audience chamber, and not like the late King, standing in his bedchamber with his hat in his hand."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO THE INTERNUNCIO AT BRUSSELS. Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

"WHITEHALL. 26 *March* 1685

". . . . Your letter of the 26th of last month assures me of the continuance of your ardent good wishes for my prosperity, and also expresses in a very obliging manner the joy you experienced at the share I have had in the great revolution which has lately occurred in

1685 this kingdom. I am too well persuaded of your attachment to my interests not to give credit to all you say thereon, and after thanking you, I will add that you may well believe this change in my condition will make none in the particular consideration I bear you. And as you assure me of the cordial and paternal affection of His Holiness for me, I hope you will avail yourself of the first ordinary for Rome to express my feelings of respect and veneration, begging His Holiness to accept my humble and submissive filial obedience, of which I shall endeavour to give him sensible proofs on any occasions which may arise for the good of our holy mother the Church."

The above letter is in French, and the words "*grande révolution arrivée depuis peu*," taken in connection with the words in her next sentence, "this change in my condition will make none, &c.," clearly refer to the great reaction which had brought her husband and herself from a state of exile and persecution to a quiet and undisputed possession of the throne, and not, as some writers have supposed, that a religious revolution had begun in England.

Mary Beatrice's health continued very precarious. Barillon, who describes her illness as an inflammation of the chest, says that she believes herself in danger, and Terriesi reports to the Secretary of State of Tuscany;—$\frac{20}{30}$ March, 1685.

"The Queen is always afflicted with her indispositions, and seems almost consumed by them, which causes great compassion in all, who do not think she has long to live; by her angelic virtues and her most holy life and conduct she renders herself adorable. The messenger who was to have been sent back to Modena with new projects from this Court for the adjustment of the differences between the Duke and the Court of France is being detained owing to the illness of the Queen. . . . It seems that Abbé Rizzini's object is to defend himself from Prince Cesare, by whom he declares himself offended, and to place himself under the protection or perhaps in the service of this Queen, without reflecting upon what may happen to the Duke, his master. . . ."

JAMES II. TO THE DUKE OF MODENA. 1685

"WHITEHALL, 2 *April* 1685

"BROTHER, As I am sending the bearer, Mr Caryll, to Rome upon my business, I also charge him with this letter to assure you of the continuation of my friendship, and interesting myself as I do in all that concerns you, I cannot prevent myself from telling you that I think it would be for your good to follow the advice the Queen your sister has given you as to your conduct with regard to France, for I can assure you that no one has your interests at heart as she has . . . "

The young Duke was unmoved by this letter, and meanwhile the Queen, according to Barillon, was in much indignation, especially against Prince Cesare :—

"The Duke of Modena has not written to her, nor to the King of England since their accession ; she understands by so unusual a procedure the great influence he has allowed Prince Cesare to obtain over him. . . . Her Majesty will write to him once again to point out the danger he will precipitate himself into unless he adopts one of the two courses proposed to him . . . if not, she will ask Your Majesty not to delay making Prince Cesare feel the effects of your resentment, begging your Majesty at the same time to let the weight of displeasure fall as lightly as possible on the person of the Duke."—April 19 :—"The moment of the Coronation is approaching. It is feared, however, that it may have to be deferred owing to the health of the Queen, who does not appear to be in a state to support the fatigues of such a ceremony."

The possible demise of a Queen Consort could not leave the diplomatists indifferent, and Terriesi informs the Grand Duke of Tuscany in a cyphered despatch that France is trying to put forward the daughter of the Duc d'Enghien :—"but the general opinion turns in the direction of the Princess, Your Highness's daughter, or the Princess of Neubourg; the Spanish Ambassador, with whom I dined yesterday, said to me :—'You should write to His Highness that he should expedite

1685 all other affairs, for this one will not fail to succeed.'" The same date—April 16—Terriesi writes to the Tuscan Secretary of State, telling him of James's care for the Duke of St. Albans, Charles's son by Nell Gwynne, and the Duke of Northumberland, his son by the Duchess of Cleveland, saying he has given Northumberland a considerable sum of money :—"It is all the same incredible what economy His Majesty is striving to introduce into the Royal Household, dismissing superfluous officers and reducing stipends, which course, however, is sensibly felt by those concerned, and has not the approval of the Whigs ; but all faithful subjects cannot commend it too highly, knowing how necessary it is for the King not to make himself, through indigence, the slave of his people." $\frac{13}{23}$ April, 1685, Terriesi writes again :—"On the evening of the 7th the Queen Dowager finally went to inhabit Somerset House, leaving their present Majesties her apartment at Whitehall ; she first went to St. James's Palace, where the Queen Regnant is at present to visit Her Majesty (this being the first time she has been out) in return for the many visits paid to her during her retirement. Whilst thanking Her Majesty for all her kindness, she made her a present of the Chapel and Convent at St. James's, on which she had not long ago spent £5,000 after a fire there had been. Although the Queen Dowager now lives at some distance from the King's Palace, His Majesty does not fail to visit her every evening."

Not only did the new Queen treat the Dowager with kindness, but her old affection for the Princess of Orange and her kindness to her husband remained unaltered. She wrote "To my Sonne the Prince of Orange" from Whitehall in the month of March :—

> "The lines you sent me by Mr Overke [Overquerke] and the compliments he made me from you, were so obliging, that I know not how to thank you half enough for it ; but I hope you believe that all the marks you give me of your friendship are very agreeable to me, and so must desire the continuance of it, which I am sure I

shall always deserve from you; for nothing can ever alter me from being with all sincerity and without compliments 1685

Yours truly
M.R."

Pray follow my example, and write to me without any ceremony, for it is not to be minded between such friends as we are."

And again:—

"Tho I writt to you but yesterday by Mr Overquerke, and have charged Mr Skelton, the King's Envoyé, to make my compliments to you, yett I cannot lett him go without a letter from me to give you new assurances of my friendship, of the sincerity of which I hope this bearer will convince you. . . ." Alfred Morrison Collection

The King and Queen spent Holy Week at St. James's Palace, the chapel at Whitehall having been left by James for the use of the Princess Anne and the Protestant service. James and Mary Beatrice exactly performed all the ceremonies of their religion, the King, says Terriesi, "going morning and evening to the Chapel of St. James, as the late king went to the Protestant chapel, and in the same state. . . . declaring, however, to those of his suite and service that he had no wish to force any man, and that those who did not choose to attend him in the Chapel might wait for him outside."

In the ceremony of washing the feet of twelve poor men, the King seems to have been assisted by the Protestant Bishops.

"Her Majesty the Queen," reports Terriesi, "is so much recovered that she appears constantly at all public functions, to the extreme joy of the people who have conceived for her, because of her goodness and adorable manners, an affection which it would be difficult to describe."

The recovery in the Queen's health was so rapid that she was able to bear the long and fatiguing ceremonies of the Coronation on the $\frac{23\text{ April}}{3\text{ May}}$. James's exalted notions of his kingly office caused him to go minutely into the records of the

1685 past; he appointed a Commission for the right ordering of the ceremony in all its details, and to draw up a kind of code of precedent to serve for future coronations; ordering Francis Sandford, *Lancaster Herald*, to publish the record of the Commission's labours and a description of the ceremony itself, a work upon which Sandford seems to have spent two years, for it only appeared in 1687. The book, with its quaint and valuable illustrations—in which the tall and willowy figure of the Queen overtops in stature all her ladies —is very rare, and rarer still is a document, written in French, and credibly supposed to have been sent by James himself to his kinswoman, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, giving a minute account of the event in all its magnificence and pomp.

Brit. Mus. King's MS. 148

The King and Queen, having first been anointed and crowned in private by Mansuete, the King's Confessor, went by water from Whitehall to Westminster, and walked in separate processions from Westminster Hall, through New Palace Yard into King Street, and so through the Great Sanctuary to the West Door of the Abbey. Two breadths of blue carpet were spread all the way—1220 yards—and the King's Herb-Woman, Mrs. Mary Dowie, with six maidens in antique dress, strewed flowers upon the Monarch's path. Barons, Earls and Countesses walked four abreast, carrying their coronets in their hands, and the chronicler tells us that Lady Halifax was the only Marchioness present, the other, the Dowager Marchioness of Winchester, not having been invited because she had married a commoner. The Kings of England still called themselves Kings of France, and the historic personages, the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy, were represented by Sir Robert Townshend and Sir Francis Lawley.

Ibid. Jure Emptiones 10,118[1]

Her new Household surrounded the Queen, her Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Robert Strickland, who was to follow her to

[1] According to the same authority Louis XIV had sent some of the "Holy Oil" of Rheims for the private ceremony, but a marginal note says:—"Some maintain ye H. Oyle of Rheims and some doubt of it."

the end ; her Lord Chamberlain, Lord Godolphin, who was to find in the service of her who owned 1685

> "Such beauty, that from all hearts love must flow,
> Such dignity, that none durst tell her so"

the thraldom of a passion as devout as it was hopeless, and which was to make him the secret but faithful ally of the Stuarts in the evil days to come. The Duke of Beaufort carried her crown, the Earls of Dorset and Rutland the ivory wand and sceptre. Sixteen Barons of the Cinque Ports carried the rich daïs of cloth of gold under which she walked, her train of purple velvet, seven yards in length, was carried by the Duchess of Norfolk and four eldest daughters of Earls—Lady Jane Noöl, daughter of Lord Gainsborough, Lady Anne Herbert, of Lord Powis, Lady Anne Spencer, of Lord Sunderland, and Lady Essex Roberts, of Lord Radnor. The Countess of Peterborough was her Groom of the Stole, Lady Sophia Bulkeley and the Countess of Bantry, Mrs. Bromley and Mrs. Margaret Dawson, ladies-in-waiting. The Bishops of Winchester and London were her supporters, and the latter gave her a little book describing the ceremony, which she attentively studied during James's coronation, while awaiting her own.[1] Mary Beatrice wore no less than three crowns that day—a circlet of gold enriched with diamonds on her way to the Abbey ; an Imperial crown adorned with precious stones, surrounded with fleurs-de-lys and surmounted by a cross, at the moment of the coronation, and on leaving the Abbey another crown of gold, the precious metal disappearing under the wealth of diamonds and pearls which covered it. It cost £119,000. Parliament had offered the Queen yet another crown of enormous value, but the King had refused it. *Cordons* of pearl held her train to her shoulders, and her dress was covered on every seam with diamonds.

Dartmouth's Note to Burnet's Own Time, i. 621. Add. MS. 4222 f. 62

After the ceremony the Queen, departing from etiquette, went in her robes of state to the private box whence the

[1] Unlike all other coronations, there was no Communion service.

1685 Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark had watched the proceedings *incognito*, and remained chatting with them until it was time to join the King in Westminster Hall.

RIZZINI TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"LONDON $\frac{24\ April}{4\ May}$ 1685.

". . . . The coronation ceremonies passed with such pomp, such order and great and universal applause that can hardly be described. . . . The dresses and jewels were beyond what would be found anywhere. Two things in particular I must remark; first, the extraordinary jubilation and shouting at the moment the crown was placed upon the King's head, almost enough to deafen those who were in the great Church of Westminster; those joyous cries, accompanied by the sound of trumpets and drums, and the firing of artillery, were taken up by the shouts of the people, gathered from all parts of the kingdom in the streets outside, at the windows, on the roofs, and on balconies raised on purpose all along the way. . . . Every voice was loud in clamorous applause, somewhat to the wonder of those who remembered the past, at this conversion into transports of love and joy, of that frenzy of hatred without which, but a few years ago, the very name of this august Prince could not be heard mentioned.

The second point I would remark upon, was the vigorous strength with which Her Majesty the Queen sustained the long fatigue of such a great function, lasting from 10 o'clock in the morning until 7 in the evening, and the weight of her robes and jewels during the long walk and other ceremonies, which made us fear that, still being only convalescent, they might be a cause of suffering and prejudice to her health. The acclamations at the moment of her crowning were, if not greater, at least as great as the King's, and accompanied by tears of emotion . . ."

The enthusiasm caused by Mary Beatrice's grace and beauty was heightened in the public mind by a generous act of clemency performed by her. She took upon herself the liabilities of all small debtors in the kingdom imprisoned for sums under £5, thus releasing eighty from Newgate alone, and many hundreds throughout the realm. The mind may linger for a moment on the fair picture of the Queen, under her

canopy of gold, moving in her youthful majesty and grace along the blue-carpeted, flower-strewn street, clad from head to foot in the soft radiance of scintillating gems, and causing in the beholders a very paroxysm of loyalty and admiration ; a glamour which seems to have inspired the somewhat pagan inscription :—" O Dea Certe " upon the beautiful medal struck in honour of the day. She alone seems to have been untouched by the general intoxication. " It was the 3rd of May," she told the nuns in after years at quiet Chaillot, " the day of the Finding of the Holy Cross ; a presage of the crosses which were to mark my destiny and that of the King my husband." 1685

At the great banquet in Westminster Hall the King and Queen were served by lords and ladies wearing their coronets, so that Rizzini remarks :—" Their Majesties appeared to be served at table by kings and queens." The *menu* of 1445 dishes is given at length by Sandford, and afterwards the public gaily sacked the tables after the official world had retired. The fountains ran with wine, and at nightfall fireworks on either side the Thames were reflected in its waters.

James, among the coronation honours, bestowed the Garter upon the Duke of Norfolk, and upon his faithful servants the Lords Rochester and Peterborough. In the Memoirs of the latter we read :—" After the King's decease great endeavours were used to prevent the Earl of Peterborough from succeeding to the place under the new King, wherein he had served His Majesty while he was Duke, the space of 20 years together ; but His Majesty was too just and generous not to stick to his old servant that had seen so many fortunes and hazards with him ; he did then give his Lordship the Gold Key, and therewith establish him Groom of the Stole, and First Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber. . . . . One evening when his Lordship expected nothing less, His Majesty, with a bounty and graciousness never to be forgotten, took him aside and ask'd if he did not remember a promise that had once been made him ; to which the Earl replied : He had a memory only

1685 for what pleased His Majesty ; who answered, He had not forgotten the Garter he should have had after the Sole Bay fight, and he should find he was as mindful of old Promises as of ancient Service."

Mary Beatrice was also mindful of old promises, and within a few days of her coronation, trusting perhaps in the *prestige* of her new sovereignty, she made another attempt to get the coveted red hat for Prince Rinaldo. Oblivious of former refusals she writes to the Pope, 7 May 1685, trusting in his paternal affection, and "moved by the ties of consanguinity which unite me to my uncle, Prince Rinaldo d'Este, I come again to entreat Your Holiness to admit him into the Sacred College of Cardinals ; and I think I may flatter myself I shall obtain this favour, seeing that some years ago Your Holiness gave me good hopes of it. I have begged my mother to present this letter to Your Holiness, and to efficaciously demonstrate this my most ardent desire . . ."

Vatican Archives

Innocent XI was still obdurate, and in a Brief of June 7 conveying his congratulations to Mary Beatrice on her accession, there is no allusion to her letter, although in all probability it must have reached his hands.

At his accession James II had kept the late King's Ministers in office, and rewarded the fidelity of his brother-in-law, Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, by changing his appointment to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland—one of the last of Charles's acts, and which Rochester had not had time to take possession of—into the more brilliant and lucrative post of Lord High Treasurer.

By keeping the Earl of Sunderland in office as Secretary of State for the Northern province, James was following the example he had blamed in his brother in the case of Shaftesbury in 1679 :—"to keep from doing hurt by keeping him in his service (a plan which seldom succeeds.)" Sunderland had been one of his bitterest foes, deeply engaged with the Prince of Orange, whose chief adviser he was in suggesting plans to make him popular in England, an ardent exclusionist,

and in the last weeks of King Charles's life, busily intriguing 1685
for the expulsion of the Duke of York and the recall of Monmouth. The judgment of his contemporaries is aptly expressed in the lines :—

> "A proteus, ever acting in disguise ;
> A finished Statesman, intricately wise ;
> A second Machiavel, who soar'd above
> The little tyes of gratitude and love."

And his character has come down to posterity as of one who joined to the profligacy of Wharton and the treachery of Marlborough a cynical cunning and deep-seated hypocrisy which rendered him perhaps the most crafty and unprincipled intriguer English history can show.

This was the man whom the irony of fate placed at the ear of a king, who of all the princes of his time, stood most in need of wise and faithful counsel. Lady Sunderland, in intrigue an apt disciple of her lord, was appointed a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, and her close and constant correspondence with her husband's uncle, Henry Sidney, English Envoy at the Hague, kept William of Orange regularly informed of the most secret events in the English Court. Sunderland, writes James himself in the clear and painful light of after events, "put him upon methods which visibly led to his ruin at last . . . and would frequently by his creatures put the King under hand upon measures of that kind, and when His Majesty advised with him upon them, would not only approve but applaud the King in his great wisdom for the prudent contrivances of which he was the first forger."

Exactly seven weeks after the coronation, June 11, 1685, the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire. The Duke of Argyle had preceded him in raising the standard of rebellion in Scotland a few weeks sooner, both taking their "first flight from Holland (a country which was ever liberal to the King in presents of that nature)" observes James in his own account of the events. The Prince of Orange had

1685 written to Lord Rochester some time previously to consult him as to how he could ingratiate himself with the King. The prompt advice had come:—by sending the Duke of Monmouth out of Holland. But this did not suit the tortuous policy of William, who preferred keeping Monmouth by him until the moment arrived for sending him, or at least allowing him to go to England, in spite of the warnings and protests of the English Minister Skelton. At the same time he proffered his armed assistance to his father-in-law, "not," writes the latter,

Memoirs of James II

"out of good-will to him, but to keep the sweet morsel for himself . . . but the King chose rather to trust to the force he had, than to one who (as appear'd in the sequel) and was then sufficiently suspected, had as impatient a thirst after the Crown of England as he that now invaded it . . . the Prince of Orange had formerly been told by Fagel, Pensioner of Holland, that his business was to play Monmouth against the King, that whichever got the better would equally advantage his pretensions; if the Duke of Monmouth succeeded, he saw it would be easy for him, a Protestant as well as he, and in the right of his wife the next heir, to shove him out of the saddle; if on the contrary the Duke of Monmouth was worsted, he got rid of a dangerous rival, and was sure all his party [Monmouth's] would then have recourse to him, which proved accordingly and was his main support when his time came to try for it. This made him underhand doe what he could to influence this young man's fury and ambition, and send him out like a victim to the slaughter, playing a sure game himself whosoever fortune gave the advantage to at present."

One of the moves in the game was the following letter dated from Fortlandyck, June 25. After apologies for the delay in answering the King's last letter, he continues:—"This will not, however, prevent me from serving Your Majesty with the same ardent affection that I have ever done, and nothing that could happen could alter my fixed inclination and the attachment I have for your interests, and I should be the unhappiest man in the world if Your Majesty were not

entirely persuaded of this, and did not continue to give me a small share in your good graces, for I shall be to my latest breath, with greater zeal and fidelity than any other man, Your Majesty's most devoted servant. . . ." 1685

The consternation at Court at the news brought by two men on June 13th of Monmouth's landing—which we may take as the extreme of speed in those days—is recorded by Terriesi to the Secretary of State of Tuscany, and writing again on the 19th, he condemns Monmouth's assumption of legitimacy as a base ingratitude "to the present King, who held him at the font, and who interceded to obtain his pardon when condemned to death for the late regicide conspiracy." [Rye House Plot.]

When Monmouth was brought a prisoner to London, he wrote to Lord Rochester, to the Queen Dowager, who had often interceded for him in former days, and to Mary Beatrice, who replied that had his offence been against herself, she would have forgiven him readily, but his usurpation was a matter the King alone could deal with. One of the absurd calumnies which her enemies never tired of fabricating from that time forward against the Queen, accused her of being present at the interview between the King and Monmouth. One more proof of its baselessness lay for two centuries in the Archives of Florence until the Marchesa Campana de Cavelli discovered it :—"$\frac{13}{23}$ July, 1685. The King spoke for half an hour with Monmouth, gave him some dinner, and then sent him to the Tower. The two Secretaries of State were alone present at the interview."

James's consenting to see Monmouth has been much blamed, and was criticised at the time by Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador, who wrote that such a thing had seldom been done. When he wrote he probably did not know the contents of Monmouth's letter pleading that by *one word* he could satisfy the King of his devotion and cancel his crimes. Many of his contemporaries and James himself in later days believed the word would have been "Sunderland" if the prisoner's

1685 silence had not been purchased by a false promise that his life should be spared.

Mary Beatrice's health soon after these events again gave way, and Terriesi who, as has been seen, was anxious that the young Medici princess might be the first in the competition for the hand of James which his consort's death would open, keeps the Grand Duke of Tuscany minutely informed of the various phases of the Queen's maladies.

"London, $\frac{7}{17}$ *Sept.* 1685.

"The Queen, having recovered from the slight indisposition caused by the cold weather, arrived here the day before yesterday, dined at Whitehall, visited the Queen Dowager, and returned immediately to Windsor. There are rumours that she spent the whole of last week in great weeping and much sadness, and the reason alleged is that the King has received his two sons by the sister of Lord Churchill, James and Henry, at Court, and in a measure, has begun to recognise them, giving them the name of Fitz-James, whereas, it is said, His Majesty had quite lately promised he would not raise them to that dignity."

And again, $\frac{14}{24}$ September :—

"Her Majesty seems to be well in health (although she runs great risks in exposing herself to the cold, on horseback and in the chase, which it pleases her often to pursue) although her pallid looks and want of flesh make her appear very differently. . . The French Ambassador makes a very different figure now to what he did in the late King's time and when the Duchess of Portsmouth was the favourite, transferring the court he used to make to her to the present Queen, whom alone he cultivates now, although with small result, for Her Majesty does not meddle with politics and affairs of State, as that Duchess used to do.

There are no signs of appeasement in the Queen's aspect of the passionate commotion aroused in her—it is said—by the report that the King has retaken Madame Sedley into favour. . . . But the true reason may be the coming to Court of Madame Churchill's two sons, contrary to the King's promise, although it cannot be said that His Majesty has recognised them, having given them neither arms nor titles as is customary[1]. . . He is sending them both shortly to France for their studies."

[1] They were afterwards created Dukes of Berwick and Albemarle.

Terriesi's next letter gives his opinion of Lord Sunderland :— 1685
"That man, who has become by his evil procedures the general abomination, amazes everyone at the way he preserves himself in office, having been the head of the party which strove to exclude His Majesty from the succession, who was always against him, and did more for France than her own Ambassador. No one knows what it is which keeps such a man in power—without ability and with no other merit than that given him by the favour of the Duchess of Portsmouth, unless it be with the King the declaring himself a Catholic, which moves to laughter those who know him, and who declare that knowing neither faith nor law—*nè fede, nè legge*—he would as easily declare himself anything else to suit his ends.

"The Queen's aspect is so languid that in the opinion of all who see her, her life will not be a long one. The least departure from the strictest regimen causes her to take to her bed, and although she allows herself to be seen as if there were nothing wrong, she seems to force herself to do so."

Sunderland did not go so fast as Terriesi supposed ; the part of enquirer and neophyte suited him best for the moment, and he deferred his pretended conversion to the Church of Rome until May, 1687, a change which it probably cost him as little to effect, as it did to take the oath against Transubstantiation under William and Mary four years later. It would appear strange that hypocrisy which was patent to all who knew Sunderland should have escaped the penetration of the King, were it not remembered that the artful flatterer of a favourite passion may often blind far more clear-sighted persons than James II to facts obvious, even to demonstration, to the dispassionate observer. And zeal for religion—though he was unwilling to sacrifice his pleasures to the observance of its precepts—was the ruling passion of James, from the time when, as a Protestant stripling, he had insisted that his younger brother, the little Duke of Gloucester, should be taken from his mother, for fear she should make him a Catholic, until the present time when, according to Dalrymple :—" he descended

1685 from the character of a king to that of an apostle . . . he became the dupe of designing men by an uncommon species of flattery. To pretend to be converted by his arguments was to ensure his protection. He received the supposed converts into his confidence. He gave them an absolute dominion over his mind. In defiance of all remonstrance he followed their advice, which at length terminated in his ruin."

The Queen was not so easily deceived, and looked upon Sunderland with distrust. Unfortunately her jealous affection for her husband was soon to furnish the wily statesman with an occasion for worming himself into her confidence, and making use of her influence for his own purposes.

Meanwhile Monmouth's rebellion had been suppressed with a facility and an outburst of enthusiasm for the Crown in both Parliament and people—before that evoked by the coronation ceremonies had had time to evaporate—which misled the King into an exaggerated notion of his real hold upon his subjects, and of the extent to which they had adapted themselves to the idea of a Catholic ruler. Chief Justice Jeffreys was now—September, 1685—conducting those trials of the Western Assize which have earned for him so shocking a reputation, but it is difficult to believe that the King should have proved himself, belying his whole past, the blood-thirsty persecutor of vanquished men pictured to us by Burnet and Macaulay. Rebellion at all former times—and even much later—was a crime punished with stern severity, to intimidate the disaffected, and check further bloodshed and the horrors of Civil War. Evelyn, writing of the authors of this insurrection says:—"Such an inundation of phanaticks and men of impious principles must needs have caused universal disorder, cruelty, injustice, rapine, sacrilege and confusion, an unavoidable civil war, and misery without end."

Of the two worst cases of Jeffreys' mercilessness, that of Alice Lisle, and of Major Holmes, it is evident that the King knew nothing of the first execution until it was over, and that the second was in distinct contradiction of his intentions. He

had taken the precaution of sending four other Judges with Jeffreys and Mr. Pollexfen as his Solicitor, a known favourer of the Presbyterian party; "So that after all this care and foresight, His Majesty had reason to acquiess to what had been done, tho' it was a great disservice to him at the bottom." At the same time James acknowledges his own error in making Jeffreys Lord Chancellor:—"as thinking no one better qualify'd to execute that high office than himself, but certainly His Majesty had acted more prudently had he refrain'd." . . . The Barony of Wem in Shropshire, so often quoted as conferred upon Jeffreys as a reward for his services on this occasion, was in fact a coronation honour, bestowed in May—Evelyn records it in his Diary on May 24—three weeks before the landing of Monmouth. 1685

It was hardly to be expected that the Queen should escape her share of calumny, and the tale invented against her embraced worthy William Penn, the Quaker, the true friend of King James and of herself. Certain ladies of Taunton had been condemned for receiving the Duke of Monmouth with royal honours. The King gave their pardon to the Queen's Maids of Honour, who sold it to the victims through the agency of a certain George Penn, a pardon-broker of the time, and a man in no way related to William Penn. The Queen had nothing to do with the matter, and Macaulay's slander of Penn and of "the rapacity of the Queen" was further improved upon by Victor Hugo nearly two centuries later into a *sale* of widows and daughters of traitors by Mary Beatrice to William Penn.[1]

James, as he himself points out, "pardon'd thousands on this occasion who had forfeited life and estate, and his desire to make that sort of people easy, was none of the least motives for his granting liberty of conscience afterwards, which cost him so dear in the end. . . . My lord Brandon Gerard, tho' tried and found guilty, yet was soon pardon'd, Mr. Hampden . . . had the same mercy shown him. My lord Delamere

[1] In his book, *L'Homme qui Rit.*

1685 was acquitted, my lord Stamford was pardon'd without even being tried." Terriesi remarks of these persons :—"I have not yet heard if they will be re-instated. However, His Majesty is so indulgent that he will probably do so, having remitted the sentence of death against that Hampden, by his own confession guilty of enormous crimes, and a traitor by descent from father to son for four generations. . . ."

The Queen was ill again at this time, and Terriesi, giving an account of her recovery, says she looks "thin and emaciated. Many persons believe her youth alone keeps her alive, she being exactly twenty-seven years of age."

To understand the next letter it must be remembered that during Monmouth's rebellion several Catholic officers had faithfully served their King and country. The Test Act made their presence in the army illegal, but the urgency of the case supplied a sufficient justification for their appointment. As time passed, however, and the army, about 14,000 strong, was still kept up to its former complement and the Catholic officers retained their commissions, murmurs began to arise ; and when, on the meeting of Parliament, November 9th, it become known that the King hoped to accomplish the repeal of the Act and the establishment of a standing army, the rumour spread that he cherished designs against the liberties of the country. By a strange fatality, Louis XIV, forgetful of his former toleration, chose this moment for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Marquis de Ruvigny, who had been one of his most trusted servants and his ambassador to England a few years before, now returned there as a refugee with some 4,500 of his co-religionists. In vain did James openly condemn every kind of religious persecution, receive the Huguenots with kindness, and promote with all his influence every measure devised for their relief, it was perhaps inevitable—even had his opponents not done their utmost to excite the public ferment—that alarm should be wide-spread, that the pulpit and the press should vie with each other in pouring out invectives against Popery, and that Parliament should appear ready to refuse his proposals in

favour of the Catholic officers and a standing army. As soon as the King, who daily attended the debates, had ascertained the opinion of the two Houses, instead of yielding to it, his resolution stiffened into obstinacy, and he suddenly prorogued Parliament to the 10th of February with the secret determination to accomplish, by his dispensing power, that which he could not effect with the consent of the Lords and Commons. 1685

The exaggerations of the public rumours are pourtrayed by Terriesi to the Secretary of State of Tuscany—

"$\frac{27\ November}{7\ December}$ 1685.

". . . . There are prognostics of great dangers in this Kingdom, in view of the manner in which His Majesty practices his government, for it is believed he is resolved to promote the Catholic religion as has been done in France by the Most Christian King.

I hold it for certain that should such a thing happen His Majesty would stand in need of the same miraculous assistance which alone has sustained him until now in his mode of government, for there is no possible appearance, nor the slightest doubt but that the soldiers would be the first to turn against him, as did the Officials in the late Parliament who frustrated his designs. . . ."

Terriesi's next letter alludes again to the Queen's ill-health, which proceeded, in truth, more from distress of mind than from sickness of body.

Catherine Sedley had remained in London after her dismissal by the King, and now, by an accidental—or designed—meeting at Chiffinch's[1] lodgings, had resumed her former ascendancy over him. In consequence, we find the following entry by Evelyn (lately appointed one of the Commissioners of the Privy Seal) in his Diary, under date January 19, 1686 :— "Passed the Privie Seale, amongst others, the creation of Mrs Sedley . . . Countess of Dorchester, which the Queen took very grievously, so that for two dinners, standing neare her, I observed she hardly eate one morsal, nor spoke one word to the King, or to any about her, tho' at other times she us'd

[1] Keeper of the Closet and Page of the Backstairs.

1686 to be extreamly pleasant, full of discourse and good humour. The Roman Catholicks were also very angry, because they had so long valu'd the sanctity of their religion and proselytes."

BARILLON TO LOUIS XIV.

"31 *January* 1686.

Affaires Étrangères

"Mademoiselle Sedley has the title of Countess of Dorchester. It was known that the King of England met her rather frequently at Chiffinch's but it was not expected that he would give her a title. . . . The news has made a great noise in the town, and causes much agitation at Court. The Catholics are afflicted, thinking it has been done by some cabal, in which one of the Ministers is involved."

"4 *February:* Mlle Sedley's affair has greatly changed. She has her patent of Countess of Dorchester, but the King has declared he will never see her again. He has given his word to send her from London, and even from England. She has already consented to leave the Court. The King has recognised how important it is to him to give satisfaction on this point, not only to the Queen his wife, but to the most zealous of his servants, both Catholic and Protestant."

Three days later Barillon writes that he believes both Lord and Lady Rochester supported Catherine Sedley, and adds :—

Ibid. "When it was made public that Mlle Sedley was to be made a Countess, and that she intended to appear at Court, the Queen fell into unmeasured affliction. She loves her husband in all sincerity; she is Italian and very proud—*Italienne et fort glorieuse.* Her grief manifested itself very plainly. I believe it is strengthened and encouraged underhand. She has openly declared she will not suffer the public scandal it is intended to establish, that she will not see the new Countess, and that if the King does not separate from her, she will retire into a convent, in any country that may be. The King of England was at first much surprised at this resistance, which he attributes to the Queen's passion for him. He thought he could appease her, but he found a resistance which astonished him. The Catholics and Lord Sunderland at their

head, came to the Queen's assistance. Father Peters [Petre] and all who had most credit with His Majesty were made to speak. They represented what scandal it would give at Rome and throughout Christendom if a Prince, who had hazarded all things for the Catholic religion, should appear in open irregularity such as this would be. The King admitted the truth of what was said. He does not really much care for Mlle Sedley. In fine, he determined to do what the Queen desired, and to follow the advice of his most trusted servants." 1686

"16 February. I learned this evening that the Countess of Dorchester pretends to be ill in order not to go away. She has proposed to retire to Ireland, so as not to leave His Britannic Majesty's dominions. She also asks that in case she goes to Holland, she may be allowed to see the Princess of Orange, and to be well-treated by her. This negotiation and these delays much displease the Queen, who will have no peace until she is gone."

It was unfortunately true that the Lord Treasurer and his brother, the Earl of Clarendon, just appointed to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, had intrigued in favour of Catherine Sedley, hoping that the influence of a Protestant mistress—whose caustic wit chiefly exercised itself upon the beliefs and ceremonies of the Church of Rome—might counteract that of the Catholic Queen. And here Sunderland found his opportunity with Mary Beatrice, and a stepping stone in his ambitious rivalry against Rochester. He not only, as Barillon recounts, headed the Catholic party in their remonstrances with the King, but persuaded the Queen that Rochester and Clarendon, the relations of James's first wife, were the men the King delighted to honour, while her own friends were coldly regarded.

The time was now approaching when Mary Beatrice was to attain the object of her long and patient efforts—the promotion of Prince Rinaldo to the Cardinalate. Innocent XI's long resistance was due not only to the common maxim of the Court of Rome not to make Princes Cardinals, but also to the ancient

1686 pretension of the House of Este to the Dukedom of Ferrara, and to the fact that a Cardinal d'Este had once caused great disturbance at Rome. Soon after his accession James had sent Mr. Caryll, a gentleman of great ability and good estate, on a mission to Innocent XI to notify his accession to the throne, to ask for a Bishopric *in partibus* for Dr. Leyburne, auditor to Cardinal Howard, and the red hat for Prince Rinaldo. The first request the Pope granted at once, but still demurred as to the second. In February 1686 the King made the great mistake of recalling Caryll and sending Lord Castlemaine as Ambassador to the Holy See. He says himself that he gave way against his own judgment to Sunderland and the Jesuit Father Petre, whom, with a reckless disregard of the prejudices of his subjects, he was later to admit by Sunderland's advice into the Privy Council, while a "Secret Junto," as James calls it, consisting of Sunderland, Petre, Castlemaine, Lord Powis and a few others—"all too weake heads to controwle him" were used by Sunderland, President of the Council, "as instruments, by their credit with the King, to work his ends by." The chief object of Lord Castlemaine's mission was to obtain a Bishopric for Father Petre, "contrary to his own [James's] judgment and the Queen's advice . . . for as soon as the Queen heard what was design'd, she earnestly beg'd of the King not to do it, that it would give great scandal not only to the Protestants, but to thinking Catholicks and even to the Societie itself, as being against their rule; notwithstanding which the King was so bewitched by my Lord Sunderland and Father Petre as to let himself be prevail'd upon to doe so indiscreet a thing."

Sunderland and his Junto knew Caryll "to be a man of too much judgment to give blindly in to all their measures, they apprehended his arguments might influence the King . . . the first step therefore was to recall him and send Lord Castlemaine . . . of a hot and violent temper, and meeting with a Pope no less fixed and positive in his determinations, they jarr'd in almost every point they went upon."

THE QUEEN TO CARDINAL HOWARD. 1686

"WHITEHALL. 20, *February*, 1686.

"MY LORD CARDINAL OF NORFOLK, Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

I must not let this occasion pass of my lord Castlemaine's embassy to Rome, without repeating to you my former instances concerning the promotion of my uncle Prince Rinaldo d'Este. I hope shortly to see the fruits of your zeal and endeavours in this matter, and of the many kind expressions I have often receiv'd from His Holiness. The King has been pleased to make the effecting of this business the principal part of his Ambassador's instructions, and I may justly presume that His Majesty's desires and mine on behalf of a person so well-meriting, and so likely to do honour to the Holy See, will not prove ineffectual."

The Pope yielded to the Queen's request, but so incensed had he become at Castlemaine's bearing and the haughty obstinacy with which he urged the claim of Father Petre that he was careful to explain "that it was not at the Ambassador's request." The Pope "was mightily averse to the French interest," and no great friend of the "Society," so he gave nothing but a flat denial to all Castlemaine could urge, answered his threat of leaving Rome with a curt *lei è padrone*, and ordered his envoy in England, Count Ferdinando d'Adda, to demand satisfaction from the King for the insult offered him by the Ambassador in having published a printed account of his reasons for being dissatisfied at his reception at Rome. James was forced to recall his representative, but continued his solicitations, no longer for a Bishopric, but for a Cardinal's hat for Father Petre, not through the Cardinal of Norfolk, but through the new Cardinal d'Este, solicitations which the Pope continued to meet with an inexorable refusal.

The Nuncio had come to England as a layman, and with a threefold object:—To congratulate the King on his accession, to exhort him to temper his zeal with prudence and moderation, and to solicit his intervention with Louis XIV in favour of the persecuted French Protestants. Nothing would satisfy James but that the envoy should appear in all the ecclesiastical

1686 state of a Papal Nuncio. The astonished and perplexed d'Adda remonstrated both with the King and with Sunderland, going to the latter before he was out of bed, as he writes, February 22, 1686, to the Papal Secretary of State to remonstrate against the imprudence of the measure, and to urge the impossibility of his compliance, as he had no faculties for the public character of Nuncio.[1] The King declared it was more consonant with the Pope's dignity and with his own, and insisted upon the envoy writing to Rome for the necessary faculties. It is difficult to understand how James could have so entirely forgotten the ancient prejudices of his subjects and his own former sufferings as thus to lose no opportunity, as it were, to alarm and irritate them by needless displays of Catholicity. He somewhere observes that he did so in the hope of "familiarising" their minds and making them "less averse to suffer the exercise of the Catholic religion amongst them;" and yet when he perceived that such blundering attempts but served to "sour" them the more "in a thing no ways essential to religion," he still persisted in them.

Vatican Archives

James had not even the satisfaction of pleasing the Catholics. They had fallen, by now, into three categories:—The main body, whom a hundred years of persecution had rendered timid and apprehensive, and who foresaw that they would in the end be the sufferers and not the gainers by the King's intemperate zeal, and deprecated his policy. The second party, at the head of which stood the Queen and d'Adda, while desiring to see the repeal of the sanguinary penal laws and the granting of liberty of conscience, wished the measures to be obtained legally and with all possible tact and prudence. The third section to which the King himself inclined, and with which, unfortunately, he identified his policy, consisted of Father Petre, a "weak, plausible man," who ("had only the art by an

[1] *Memoirs of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury.* Roxburgh Club, 1890, p 153. "To my certain knowledge the Nuncio did all he could possible to stave off his public audience, as he represented the ill consequences insomuch that the Minister once, if not oftener, gave him very hard words. In the character he was in before and a lay habit and sword he might have been there 20 years and not one word would have been said."

abundance of words to put a Gloss upon a weak and shallow judgment"), Lord Castlemaine and others, and was led "for the basest purposes" by the Earl of Sunderland. 1686

The Duchess of Modena, still estranged from her son, remained at Rome, and Mary Beatrice's filial devotion to her having called forth a letter of commendation from Monsignor Cafrara, a Roman ecclesiastic, she writes him the following graceful letter :—

"WHITEHALL. *March*, 1686.

"No praise in the world could I desire more than that which you give me, in your letter of December, on the fulfilment of my duty to my very dear and honoured mother. So much so, that if I do not dare attribute to myself all the eulogies you make me—since no one can be judge in their own cause—they are none the less extremely agreeable to me, because they give a perfect idea of the person I would desire to be. However that may be, at least you show great zeal and friendship for us both, in giving us so fine and instructive a picture of the duty of a daughter and the tenderness of a mother." Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

The Queen's devotion for her mother took umbrage at a supposed slight inflicted upon the Duchess Laura by Lord Castlemaine, who waited upon the Cardinals before paying his respects to her on his arrival at Rome. The King, probably at his wife's instigation, wrote to upbraid his Ambassador, but in the following letter the Queen seems to overlook the breach of etiquette :—

"WHITEHALL, 1686.

"MY LORD CASTLEMAINE,

Your's of the 13th April confirms me in the opinion I allways had of your affection and diligence in my concerns, and your prudence gives me a further assurance that you will take such just measures in those matters under your management that in a manner, all may enjoy a certaine prospect of good success. I doubt not that my Mother and Cardinal Cibo will be very useful to you in the conduct of your business, and I have reasòn to believe the mind of His Holiness to be so well-disposed on our behalf that by your prudent address all those obstacles which formerly lay in our way will be easily removed. In the mean time, as a mark of my esteem of your person and merit, I shall send you my picture by the next opportunity." *Ibid.*

1686 The Court of James and Mary had at all times, even under the clouds of exile and persecution, been stately and brilliant, and the time had not yet come when James was to succeed in emptying Whitehall of his dissatisfied courtiers, so the Carnival of 1686 seems to have been very gay.

Terriesi reports, March 4, 1686, that the masked ball given by Lord Sunderland on Shrove Tuesday had been splendidly successful. "Their Majesties were spectators of the ball, in which the masqueraders, in divers costumes of brocade enriched with gold and diamonds, alone took part. The Queen played at cards, and there were three supper tables. The King and Queen at the first with the ladies they invited; the masqueraders at the second; the foreign representatives and others at the third. Lent opened next day with English sermons at all the Catholic Embassy Chapels, which were crammed, because as many Protestants as Catholics went to them.

"At last the Countess of Dorchester has departed for Ireland, and with her departure the countenance of the Queen has regained something of its serenity. . . . It is true that serenity may not be very long-lived, for it is supposed the lady will shortly think of returning."

CHAPTER VI

SUNDERLAND was made President of the Council at the end of February, 1686, and Terriesi, in a cyphered despatch to the Florentine Secretary of State, observes : 1686

"$\frac{23\ April,}{3\ May,}$ 1686.

". . . . It is impossible to understand how he [Sunderland] can enjoy the very highest favour at Court, since he has no other talent than that of making himself universally hated without advancing his master's affairs (*senza far l'affare del suo Signore*), on whom no one knows him to have any other claim, than to have made himself the chief of those who tried to exclude His Majesty from the throne."

Writing, again in cypher, to the Grand Duke a few days later :

"The Queen remains with a complication of disorders which the Doctors and the general public believe will not give her long to live ; this is a conjecture which, while it pleases the Catholics and loyal subjects on account of her childlessness, equally displeases the fanatics and the disloyal, who see that there would be a prospect of His Majesty having male descendants, and the general opinion already considers the daughter of Your Most Serene Highness as the future Queen."

And again to the Secretary of State on the $\frac{30\ April}{10\ May}$:

"The day before yesterday the Spanish Ambassador got into my carriage in leaving the Court and began to speak of the Queen's

1686 illness as not promising Her Majesty a long duration of life ; he was thinking of the re-marriage of the King, and concluded that this time there would be no great cabal on the part of the French, as there are no other Princesses to give him than those of Tuscany or the Palatine Electorate."

His next letter recounts an act of generosity towards one of the vassals of Tuscany on the part of the Princess upon whose death he was speculating :—"The Prince of Piombino has succeeded in freeing himself from prison here, the Queen having paid the greater part of the debts for which he had been arrested."

Meanwhile the popular discontent grows apace at what Terriesi calls, in a despatch of $\frac{31 \text{ May}}{10 \text{ June}}$ 1686, the "discord between the present King's government and the laws of the land," and the apprehension caused by the troops he keeps on foot and the way he exercises them in a time of peace.—"One good thing is that there is no one, for the present, to put himself at the head of the malcontents, but it is none the less true that the King has no one near him who would have credit with them, nor who can give him the slightest help of good counsel, he having alienated or dismissed so many. . . . And God help him, if they [the malcontents] discover that his troops are not faithful, but of their way of thinking, as it is much to be feared they are, being Englishmen also ; for then His Majesty would have to receive the law from the populace."

James did not believe he was acting illegally in keeping up the army at his own expense in spite of the refusal of Parliament to grant supplies, or in retaining and appointing Catholic officials in spite of the Test Act. As regarded the officers who had fought for him against Monmouth, it was a point of honour, upon which he was not the man to give way, and with regard to the Test Act he was resolved to sift the point to the bottom, on which so much depended,—"and for that end convened the 12 Judges in the Exchequer Chamber . . . to them it was proposed whether the King might dispense with

any man's taking the Oaths and Tests . . . . who, after a solemn debate agreed unanimously, (all but one). . . that the Kings of England might dispense with all Laws that regarded penaltys and punishment as often as necessity required, and were themselves judges of the necessity when such dispensations were expedient." 1686 Memoirs of James II

Confiding in this decision, further confirmed by a test case purposely brought against Sir Edward Hales, who was tried and acquitted on the strength of the King's dispensation under the Broad Seal, James went contentedly on, disregarding the counsels of the Queen, of Rochester, and of his own confessor Mansuete (who finally resigned his office, and was succeeded by Warner, a Jesuit of Father Petre's choosing), braving the alarm and anger of his people, and forgetting that the very essence of a dispensing power resides in the rarity and particularity of its exercise, or it ceases to be a dispensation, and becomes a rule. Unfortunately, Sunderland's machinations having sown suspicion between the Queen and the Lord Treasurer, there could not be that concerted action on their part which might possibly have influenced the King on the side of prudence and moderation.

Whatever misgivings or sorrows Mary Beatrice may have had, she kept a brave and confident bearing to the world. She writes to Cardinal Mellani at Rome, 6 July, 1686, to thank him for his congratulations on her accession :—"We must all thank Divine Providence for having given the King, my lord, so well-disposed a soul, and such intrepid courage with regard to the interests of our holy faith ; for this has been, to the present time, the only cause of his good-beginnings, and should also be, in future, the only foundation of our hopes." Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

A few days later she writes to Père Lachaise, King Louis XIV's confessor, asking him to obtain a benefice in France for Abbé Rizzini, who is about to return there :—"For he has faithfully served my house of Modena, and will continue to serve it in the capacity of Envoy to your Court, and in particular he has rendered me much good service. He is, *Ibid.*

1686 moreover, a man of merit, and I am fain to believe that you would not be ill-satisfied in recommending a person, whom I think worthy of my recommendation."

The Queen bestowed other marks of kindness upon Rizzini before he left England, including a present of a fine diamond. The Queen and Princess Anne were present at a grand review by the King of the troops encamped on Hounslow at the beginning of July. "A splendid spectacle in tremendous dust and melting heat," reports Terriesi. "Her Majesty dined at the Camp, and came away half-dead." About the same time, under date of July 13, Evelyn notes that :—"Standing by ye Queene at basset, I observed that she was exceedingly concern'd for ye losse of £80; her outward affability much chang'd to statelinesse since she has been exalted." There was good reason for this additional stateliness in the bearing of the Queen; the Court of Charles II was not to be reformed in a day, and Barillon, moreover, a few weeks later reports to Louis XIV :—

"*September* 2, 1686.

Affaires Étrangères

"The Queen of England has been in much grief during the last few days, having learnt that the Countess of Dorchester has left Ireland, and is likely soon to arrive in London. She has, however, determined upon a meek and submissive conduct towards the King, her husband, and contents herself with the positive promise he has made her not to see the Countess. The principal Catholics do not approve of her return, and will press the King to send her out of the country."

In the summer of 1686 the Queen had hoped to receive a visit from her mother, and the Duke of Modena had also asked the Duchess Laura to come to Modena. Answering her son's invitation on the 24th of August, the Duchess informed him of her intention of going to England, a project which was never carried out, and the mother and daughter were to meet no more. Mary Beatrice at this time consented to intercede with Louis XIV on behalf of Prince Cesare d'Este, who, it will be remembered, had been exiled from Modena at that monarch's

desire, for the part he had played in the marriage of the Prince of Carignan. But the chief object she had in view was the marriage of her brother; and, little guessing that the young lady was looked upon by the Spanish and Tuscan envoys as her own successor, she tried to bring about a match between the Duke of Modena and the daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. 1686

COUNT D'ADDA to CARDINAL CIBO at ROME.

"LONDON, 13 *September*, 1686.

". . . Her Majesty the Queen, who greatly desires a marriage between the Duke, her brother, and the Princess of Tuscany, has charged the 'Cavalier Diram' (sic) who is going as English Resident to the Court of the Grand Duke, to discover precisely His Highness's intentions, in case he is now free from the negociations he had said he was engaged in." Brit. Mus. Vatican Transcripts, 15,396 f. 90

The promotion of Prince Rinaldo d'Este was at last an accomplished fact, and the Queen expresses her gratitude to the Pope in a letter dated Windsor, 14, September.

". . . Having at last received from the paternal kindness of Your Holiness the much-desired grace of the promotion of Prince Rinaldo d'Este, my uncle, to the sacred purple, I can do no less than cast myself at Your Holiness's feet with filial affection and most heart-felt thanks, and wishes for the long life and continual prosperity of Your Holiness. . . . I pray Divine Providence that this latest promotion may serve to increase from day to day the consolation of Your Holiness and the universal good of the Church. . . " Vatican Archives

Mary Beatrice did not foresee that the consequences of her uncle's elevation were to be unfavourable to herself, and would alienate from her the sympathy of some of the most powerful Catholics in England.

Terriesi was not slow to discover the Queen's matrimonial projects for her brother. In a long cyphered despatch to the Grand Duke Cosimo he recounts the attempts he has made to discover from the Italian Bed Chamber Woman, Countess Pellegrini Turini, whom he describes as the best old gentle-

1686 woman in the world, "having served Her Majesty from her birth and passionately devoted to her," the true state of the Queen's health, and concludes :—

"It seems that Her Majesty, now that there is a Cardinal in her family in the person of Prince Rinaldo, has no other desire than to see the Duke her brother married to the most Serene Princess, Your Highness's daughter."

Prince Cesare d'Este had evidently written to the Queen to thank her for her intervention on his behalf with Louis XIV, and the following letter, written in French, and not like those to the rest of her family, in Italian, is Mary Beatrice's reply. She looked upon the Prince as having been an evil counsellor to her brother, and the chief cause of the estrangement between him and his mother ; and if she considered he had been sufficiently punished, and had consented to plead for him with Louis, she evidently still regarded him with apprehension.

"WHITEHALL, 8 *October*, 1686.

"Cousin, I was gratified to learn that you were enjoying the fruits of my mediation with the King of France for your return to Modena. I hope that you will have re-entered into my brother's favour only to render him those good offices which will give you the credit of being a very faithful servant. This would always be a motive to me to continue the consideration I have for your person and for your interests, and to assure you of the affection with which I am, etc."

October $\frac{14}{24}$ was the King's birthday, and Terriesi's graphic pen sends full details to Florence of the Review of the Horse Guards and Dragoons in Hyde Park, every well-mounted trooper as smart as a Captain would be anywhere else, and the officers looking like Generals. The King, surrounded by a brilliant staff of noblemen and officers, vieing with each other in richness and splendour, going to meet the Queen at the Park gates, and riding at her carriage door in front of all the troops, her presence lending enchantment to the scene. "Their Majesties went to Mass attended by a certain number of Knights of the Garter wearing the Collar of the Order, and

then dined in public, surrounded by numberless spectators. In 1686
the evening, Her Majesty the Queen, in the Presence Chamber, dressed in cloth of gold and diamonds and pearls, was but little more splendid than the cavaliers and ladies of the Court. . . . Their Majesties then proceeded to the theatre, converted into a ball-room, and the festivities closed with dancing, while without, the whole town was bright with bonfires and the taverns overflowed with people drinking health unto His Majesty. Next day there was another review in Hyde Park, of a regiment of infantry, and after Mass, His Majesty touched a number of persons for the King's Evil, and then went fox-hunting, for which he has a passion."

In his next letter, Terriesi notes the growing favour of Father Petre, now lodged at Whitehall in the very apartments used by the King when Duke of York; "and moreover served morning and evening with great and sumptuous repasts so that he can entertain a large number of friends and acquaintances. If he has life, that Father Peter will be a Cardinal." In making this prophecy the diplomatist counted without Innocent XI, who to all the entreaties, and even veiled threats of James, continued to oppose an inflexible denial.

Mary Beatrice's love of art had not abated with her exaltation to the throne, and she sent to Rome for the best singers of the day. The King, careful, as he says, "to keep rigorously to his engagement not to seize upon anything which the Church of England could lay claim to," had left the Chapel Royal at Whitehall for Princess Anne and the Protestants, and built a new one "from the ground" for himself which was finished by the end of the year, and of which Evelyn describes the beauties with enthusiasm :—"29 December, 1686. Went to heare the musiq of the Italians at the new Chapel now first open'd at Whitehall for the Popish services. Nothing can be finer than the marble work and architecture at the end, where are four statues, representing St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul and the Church, in white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, with all the carving and pillars of exquisite art and greate coste. The

1687 Altar-piece of the Salutation, the volto in *fresco*, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin according to their tradition, with our Blessed Saviour, and a world of figures painted by Verrio. The throne where the King and Queen sit is very glorious, in a closet above, just opposite the altar. . . ." (The crimson velvet hangings, richly embroidered and fringed with gold, were saved by Mary Beatrice after the Revolution, and given by her to the Convent of the *Dames Anglaises* in Paris, where they adorned the Chapel of the Rue des Fossés St. Victor until another Revolution, that of 1789, swept them definitely away.) Evelyn also goes to see the "Queene's new apartment with her new bed, the embroidery of which cost £3,000. The carving above the chimney-piece by Gibbons, is incomparable." The Queen's singers again delight him, especially Cifaccio, "esteemed one of the best voices in Italy. . . . His holding out and delicateness in extending and looseing a note with incomparable softnesse and sweetnesse was admirable."

On January 1, 1687, Gibbons' fine statue of the King in a Roman habit was set up in the great Court of Whitehall, and on the 5th, James took the step which perhaps as much as any other contributed to shorten the duration of his living presence in that palace, the dismissal of Lord Rochester from office.

Of Rochester's fidelity up to this period there can be no question. "His zeal for the King's true interest," James himself acknowledged, "ran directly counter" to Sunderland's aims. "He saw the danger and inconvenience of the King's straining points of law, and therefore as well for the King's security as for the advantage of the Established Church. . . . he opposed all methods which were lyable to the least cavil or objection on that score. . . . His ruin was so necessary to my lord Sunderland's establishment . . . it had been all along the first article in his scheme." As he had captured the confidence of the Queen and embroiled Rochester and his wife with her by playing upon her jealous affection for her husband, so now Sunderland attacked Rochester's favour with the King through the question of religious controversy. There is a passage in a

letter of James when Duke of York to Colonel Legge, written 1687
from Brussels in 1679, which throws light upon the attitude of his mind towards this subject. After exhorting Legge never again to urge him to change his own religion, he continues :— "Did others inquire into that religion as I have done, without prejudice, prepossession, or partial affection, they would be of the same mind in point of religion as I am." When kingly authority came to the aid of this fixed idea, lodged in a somewhat narrow mind, it is easy to conceive the offence it would give to some, and the worse effect of hypocritical adhesion it called forth in men such as Lord Sunderland.

Telling the King he had noticed signs of a yielding mood and of religious trouble in that stout Protestant, Sunderland persuaded James to confer on religious matters with Lord Rochester. The King fell readily into the trap, "upon occasions pressed him on the point," and proposed a controversy of divines of the two religions, when, as might have been foreseen, Lord Rochester, almost before the battle had begun, expressed himself perfectly satisfied with his own religion, and haughtily withdrew from the conference. James declares that Rochester's staunchness was not the real reason of his dismissal from office, but his opinion that it was much "properer to have the Treasury managed by Commissions than as it was, and from that time took a resolution accordingly never to trust it in the hands of a single person again." That the measure in itself was a wise and prudent one seems proved by the fact that the office of Lord High Treasurer definitely ceased to exist in 1714, but, like too many of James II's acts, a determination good in itself was so vitiated in its form as to fill his people with apprehension and to act fatally against himself.

Rochester's dismissal was softened by a pension of £4,000 a year out of the Post Office for two lives, and of forfeited Irish lands, £2,000, "which made his exit rather a profitable exchange than a dishonourable dismission." It is, however, no injustice to James to suppose that had the Treasurer yielded, or pretended, to yield to his arguments, the abolition of his office

1687 would not have followed as immediately as it did, amid the excitement and anger of the Court and the people. There is no record of the Queen's attitude on this occasion, but it is probable she made an unavailing protest as in other cases. We know that she preserved no ill-will against the two brothers for their share in the Catherine Sedley intrigue, for Lord Clarendon appealed to her friendship in several letters from Ireland during his quarrels with Richard Talbot, Lord Tyrconnel, who had been sent there as Lieutenant-General of the forces. And when the latter came to England to urge the recall of Clarendon the Queen, at the request of Lady Rochester, strongly, but again unavailingly, opposed it. During the last illness of Lady Rochester, she sent for Mary Beatrice, who spent two hours with her shortly before her death.

Sunderland had the pleasure of sending letters of recall to Lord Clarendon immediately after Rochester's dismissal—the King granting him a pension of £2,000 a year—and the Crown was thus bereft of its two most valuable servants; for if, among those who retained the confidence of the King, there were several faithful and devoted men, the incapacity of some, and the mere fact of their religion in the case of the Catholics, deprived them of all influence and credit in the country. The treacherous Sunderland thus remained master of the situation, though he had the disappointment of not succeeding Rochester; to all his entreaties, backed by the influence of Father Petre, for the vacant post, James gave an invariable and resolute refusal.

The Queen meanwhile was using her best endeavours to obtain the hand of the Medici Princess for her brother. Through Barillon she obtained the intervention of Louis XIV, and James II's envoy Sir William Trumbull went to Florence with the mission of conveying to Cosimo the satisfaction with which the English Court would welcome the alliance; but whether because the Grand Duke was tempted by the prospect of eventually seeing a Medici Queen of England, or for other reasons, the negotiations went no further. Barillon writes in

July that the Queen has quite given up the idea—"She seems to suspect that Your Majesty may propose some Princess among your subjects for the Duke of Modena, to which he would greatly demur, because of the difference of manners between France and Italy. She added laughingly that Italians are naturally jealous :—"I admit that I am myself a little too much so." 1687

The shadow of one of the greatest sorrows of her life was now approaching the Queen. The Duchess Laura's health had not permitted her to pay her promised visit to England in the spring, and in June she wrote from Frascati to her son, with whom she seems to have been perfectly reconciled and who had entreated her to come to Modena, that she was in no state to travel either to England or to Modena. In July she died, and Pope Innocent XI was one of the first to condole with Mary Beatrice on the loss of the mother whom he described as a pattern to her sex.

BARILLON TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

"WINDSOR, 4 *August*, 1687.

"The Queen of England is much afflicted at the death of the Duchess of Modena, the news of which was brought by a special messenger. There is some difficulty about the mourning. It is doubtful whether all the Peers will be willing to put their carriages and servants into black. It would, however, be incongruous if the chief Officers of the Household only wore mourning on their own persons while the King and Queen take mourning for a mother . . . The Duchess of Modena has left all she could to the Queen of England . . . . Affaires Étrangères

The question of mourning has been settled. The Peers, the officers of State and the Ambassadors will put their carriages and people into mourning, many of the Lords will avoid doing so, and no notice will be taken ; they maintain they need take such deep mourning for none but the Royal Family : the King of England wished to show this mark of consideration to the Queen his wife who is in great sorrow. The apartments at Windsor will not be hung with black, it is put off until the Court comes to London."

1687 "*August* 11, 1687.

"I have heard from the Marquis Cattaneo that the Duchess of Modena has left the Queen 40,000 frs. a year she had in France, and 40,000 frs. more which she had at Rome, her jewels, which are very fine, and a considerable sum in cash."[1]

Queen Mary Beatrice to Pope Innocent XI.

"Windsor, *August* 15, 1687.

Vatican Archives

"The Brief by which Your Holiness has had the goodness to console me for the cruel loss of the best mother there was in the world, is the only remedy that can mitigate the pain of such a wound, which otherwise would be incurable. I know that it is my duty to obey the paternal counsel of Your Holiness and to submit myself to the will of God, suffering with Christian patience the decrees however painful, of His divine providence. I try my best to do so, but an anguish still remains in my heart which I cannot overcome.

It is true that the sorrow of Your Holiness uniting itself, so to speak, with mine, is a consolation which, if it cannot heal, at least allays my grief, for my mother could receive no greater honour, in life or in death, than she receives in the esteem and regrets of so great a Pontiff . . . . "

John Caryll, who had been English Agent in Rome until recalled to make way for Lord Castlemaine's unfortunate embassy, was appointed secretary to the Queen immediately upon his return to England, and remained in her service and that of her son until his death in 1711. He was an accomplished gentleman, a poet, and a diplomatist of great tact and clear-sightedness. The following letter, written in Italian by him in the name of the Queen, is among the Caryll Papers at the British Museum.

[1] In a letter of July 2, 1687, from Claude Estrennot, Curator of the Maurists at Rome to Dom Bultear he says the Duchess of Modena "has left her beautiful pearl necklace, one of the finest in Europe, to the Queen of England, reversible to the Duke if she leaves no children."—*Correspondence of Mabillon and Montfaucon*, by M. Valery, vol. ii. p. 52.

To Count Allesandro Caprara at Rome. 1687

"*August* 1687.

". . . I am quite content with all you have done in my business, which you have conducted with equal prudence and affection. The way the Falconiera house was regulated was perfectly right . . As to the Ursuline Nuns I rely entirely upon your discretion to do that which appears reasonable, and conformable to my dear mother's wishes. Also for the Blue Nuns I should wish all to be done which my mother, had God given her time and opportunity, would have done. . . . I recognize, as a gift to you from my mother, the great silver bowl newly restored, but I do not wish it to go unaccompanied; do me the pleasure therefore, of accepting the other three large bowls to match as a small acknowledgement of the great debt which your affectionate services have made due to you from me. The rest of the silver plate I should wish to be sold.

As to the alimony and dowry for Martinozzi's daughter who is taking the veil, I rely, as before, upon your judgment and the testimony of Father Belhuome to execute the wishes of the deceased.

I desire that the great red damask bed and its furniture be given to Countess Lucia Molza.

I have no thought, at present, of selling the Monti estates, but to hold them in reserve according to the desire of my good mother . . . Nothing remains for me now but to thank you from my heart for all the good offices so cordially rendered . . ."

The English Court sent Lord Spencer, eldest son of the Earl of Sunderland, on a mission of condolence to the Duke of Modena. Sunderland was now at the zenith of his power, and the following letter from Mary Beatrice to her brother not only shows that she looked upon him as a friend, but proves in her commendations of young Spencer how little royal personages often know of the true character of the persons they recommend. The letter is specially touching in its longing to see her brother and its gentle reproach at his delay.

"Windsor, 25 *August*, 1687.

". . . The bearer of this is mylord Spencer, the King's Envoy to condole with you on the great loss of our dear lady mother. How sensible a loss it has been to me, and how my poor heart aches,

1687 you, more than any one else can imagine, since you are a sharer in my grief and know how well justified it is. I feel sure that you compassionate me as I in turn feel for you, and would I could comfort you and receive comfort from you; but, oh God, how difficult it is in the painful distance which divides us, and which it is in your power alone to remedy. If it were in mine as it is in yours, I should have availed myself of it long ago, but I will hope that at last you may do so, and once again I beg it of you with all my heart's affection.

The gentleman who will give you this letter is the son of the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, Premier Minister and favourite, above all others, of the King; therefore I beg of you to receive him with extraordinary courtesy and to distinguish him in every possible way. His father is my great friend, and takes great interest in your affairs. I think this is sufficient to make you understand the esteem in which the King holds you in sending you such a personage, and to induce you to receive him with the greatest demonstrations of affection.

I have spoken at some length with mylord Castlemaine of your affairs, and he agrees with me that nothing can be done to further them until we have seen each other; therefore I will hope that you delay no later than this autumn.

Prince Cesare is sufficiently fortunate, in my opinion, in being loved by you, and has no need of my protection; I have always treated him civilly and will continue to do so; I do not think he can ask more of me; as for friendship, it requires sympathy. Continue your affection for me and rest assured that you are in possession of all mine."

Rizzini, who was now Modenese Resident at Paris, writes hurriedly at the request of Shelton, English Ambassador there, to prepare the Court of Modena for Lord Spencer's arrival, and to bespeak the Duke's indulgence and compassion for the young man, "of twenty-two to twenty-four years of age, of singularly handsome appearance, but addicted to drink. . . . The King [of France] received him most courteously, but he never opened his mouth, and it was the same when he was received by the Dauphiness. When Lord Spencer was not drunk he was tolerably reasonable, but such lucid intervals were rare.[1]

[1] Lord Spencer became a Catholic and died in Paris, September 5, 1688

QUEEN'S LETTER TO PRINCE OF ORANGE

The intrigues of Dyckvelt, Dutch Ambassador to England, and the proceedings of William of Orange, had produced an ominous coolness between James and his son-in-law. It was probably in order to bring about a better understanding that the Queen, departing from the usual etiquette, wrote herself to announce her mother's death to the Prince. 1687

"The friendship you have shown me on all occasions, and the part that I have always flattered myself you took in my concerns, make me hope I may have a share in your compassion in the great grief I now lie under for the death of the Duchess of Modena, my mother; in which nothing can comfort me but the hopes I have of her happiness in the other world. Next to this, I find it ease in my affliction to have the pity of one's friends, which makes me hope for yours at this time, assuring you that in what condition soever I am, I shall always be, with all sincerity, Dalrymple's Appendix

Truly yours,
M. R."

William's response was to send Count Zuyleistein, an illegitimate brother of his father, on a mission of condolence to Mary Beatrice, and at the same time of intrigue—for which Zuyleistein was well fitted, being one of the most astute of William's agents—with the disaffected English nobility. After William's death irrefragable proofs were found among his letters of this double mission of condolence and betrayal. The Queen suspected nothing, and expressed her gratitude in a letter dated Bath, August 21, 1687:—

"I have so many thanks to return to you for the part which M. Zulestein has assured me you take in my great grief for the loss of my mother and for sending him to assure me of it, that I know not where to begin, nor how to express to you the sense I have of it. I hope you are so just to me as to believe it much greater than I can make it appear on this paper. I have desired this bearer to help me to persuade you of this, and to assure you that I do desire above all things the continuation of your friendship, which I cannot but think I do deserve a little by being, with all the sincerity and affection imaginable,

Truly yours,
M. R."

1687 The dismissal from office of Clarendon and Rochester had been followed—April 4, 1687—by the no less momentous Declaration of Indulgence, whereby King James, in virtue of his dispensing power, granted liberty of conscience to his subjects. Liberty of conscience, one of the stipulations of the Treaty of Breda—and systematically violated ever since—was the great object of James's passionate desire. The potent motive of self-interest strengthened the desire, for his position as a monarch of an alien faith might justly be deemed precarious so long as the Test Act and the penal laws against that faith remained in force; but there is no reason to believe, if the solemn reiterated assurances of an honest man have any claim to be accepted, that he harboured the nefarious ulterior purposes so liberally attributed to him by his enemies. The observant men who so closely watched him give no hint in their reports to their respective Governments, of such suspicion; they often blame his policy and point out his blunders, but no question of his sincerity can be found. This is especially interesting in the case of Hoffmann, the Austrian Ambassador, in his letters to the Emperor Leopold II, commencing with the year 1688, as he may be regarded almost as a hostile witness, owing to the open antagonism between Austria and France, to whose interests James was held to be too much attached.

The very reasonableness of his proposals led the King to hope for the assent of his people to them as a preliminary to obtaining their ratification by the new Parliament he meant to summon:—"He hoped his people would have so much confidence in him as not to imagine he would make any unreasonable use of his power and trust, which the Law vested in the Kings of England, being well assured that never any of his Ancestors had a greater affection for his Country and zeal for the People's good." Had that confidence existed, or had he been gifted with some portion of the charm of manner, the jestful regal tact with which his brother had known how to win his subjects' affectionate indulgence, even when his actions

Memoirs of James II

called most loudly for their reprobation, James might have gained his object, even with the people Dryden had described as "tenacious, even to madness, of their rights." Unfortunately, his manner was awkward and cold, and his methods may be described as consistently opposed to the end he had in view, sowing distrust where he needed credit, and fear and dislike where he counted upon obedience—such as, ever since they had been boys together at Brussels, his exalted sense of the rights of kings had constrained him, at whatever cost to himself, to yield unquestioningly to his brother Charles. In his quarrels with the two Universities, after making every allowance for Sunderland's double-dealing and treachery and the influence of other evil and foolish counsellors, it is difficult to understand how he could reconcile his actions with his Coronation Oath and his repeated promises to make no encroachments upon the rights and possessions of the Church of England. What Lingard calls these "freaks of arbitrary power" resulted in converting the Universities, the two centres of the doctrines of non-resistance, into his open and determined foes, while the wholesale removals from office of those who would not agree with the royal intentions, roused feelings of uncertainty and anger which were rapidly to grow into the storm which swept him and his to ruin. In a MS. note to Burnet's *History of James II*, Cole observes:—"He fell by the knavery of false and treacherous servants"; but it would have been no less true to add that he was himself one of their most useful, though unconscious allies. 1687

The influence of the Queen, had James suffered it to guide him, would have been all on the side of prudence and conciliation; but if he disregarded her advice, he treated her at this period with much more personal devotion. The Ellis correspondence tells us that when he went to the camp at Houndslowe he now always took her from Whitehall or Windsor to Richmond, and that when she wished to spend a few days quietly at the latter place, the mild air of which suited her, he arranged his hunting-parties in that neighbourhood.

1687 Terriesi writes to the Grand Duke of Tuscany :—

"$\frac{1}{11}$ *August*, 1687.

"... Her Majesty has fixed her departure for Bath [which he calls the baths of Bristol] for the 16th inst., it having been resolved at a consultation of her extraordinary physicians that she should take them in moderation and drink the waters, which cannot but do her good. And perhaps during her voyage, she will pass by the waters of St. Winifride, having still greater confidence in them. Meanwhile the King will visit Portsmouth and other sea-ports."

Writing a week later, he notes the beginning of the exodus from Court of the discontented nobility—an exodus which we know from the Diary of Lord Clarendon Mary Beatrice did her best to check, begging him—and probably many others—to resume attendance, and assuring him that he will be well received.

"8 *August* 1687.

"His Majesty is at the worst with his principal subjects, who will not agree with his government. Therefore, such of the nobility as have any credit, standing, or power in the kingdom, are rarely to be seen at Court; they remain alienated and are constantly in conference, consulting how to prevent the abolition of the Test, and the Catholics from gaining ground ... They do all they can to counteract the King's projects, and to keep the people and the greater part of the soldiery devoted to the malcontent party ..."

The Queen's health is described in his despatch of the 19th to the Secretary of State :—

"The Queen, by reason of her affliction at the death of her mother is in such a state that all those unaccustomed to see her daily, or who had not seen her for some time, give her but little likelihood of a prolonged life. It is true the Catholics and the King's friends do not desire it, though she is a saintly queen, on account of her childlessness, His Majesty's affairs being so involved at present by reason of the Prince of Orange making himself the chief of those who embroil them, that unless God grants a male heir to the King, the Catholics and their religion will be utterly ruined ..."

THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO BATH

The King conducted the Queen to Bath before starting on a progress through the most populous towns of the West and North-west of England (paying his devotions at Holywell on the way) in the hope of preparing the public mind for the convocation of a new Parliament; the last one which, by successive prorogations, had been prevented from meeting for two years, having just been dissolved. 1687

TERRIESI TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

"$\frac{18}{28}$ *September* 1687.

"... They who come from those baths say that Her Majesty is taking them very conscientiously, and has the company of other ladies, who bathe with her, the music of the Italians which constantly diverts her, and the sight of all the people who crowd around to pay their court, or to witness a hitherto unseen spectacle. In the afternoon Her Majesty drives through the valleys to the sound of the warlike instruments of the band of her Guards, and of an evening until supper-time she gives audience to all who desire it, who are not a few, the greater part of the gentry of the town and neighbourhood desiring the honour of kissing Her Majesty's hand. Last week the King went to Bristol and the Queen ... curious to see the town (reputed, after London, the first in the kingdom) accompanied him. Both their Majesties were received and treated with every demonstration of esteem, the town giving them and their suite, at five great tables, a luxurious banquet and presenting both the Sovereigns with a purse of money."

Mary Beatrice sojourned on at Bath until October 6, gaining health and strength from its salutary waters, diverted by her Italian music, and in her lumbering coach and six driving daily among the vales and combes, by the Kennet and the Avon, her military band awaking new echoes in the Somersetshire hills and calling the villagers and their children, the harvestmen from their wheat-fields, to see the passing of their beautiful Queen. It was her last visit to any part of her "deare England." Miss Strickland tells us that on the bath used by the Queen the Earl of Melfort erected a richly sculptured marble cross to commemorate the re-union of the royal pair on that

1687 spot. The inscription on the cross was erased at the Revolution, and the cross itself removed in later times, but its celebrity remained, and Mary Beatrice's bath was much resorted to by married ladies desirous of children. James had rejoined the Queen on the 6th of September, and during his stay at Bath he received Bonrepas, the special envoy of Louis XIV, who came to inform him of William of Orange's intrigues with his subjects, and to urge a secret alliance with the French King, but James paid little heed to his message, and declared he meant to keep the treaty of Nimeguen inviolate.

TERRIESI TO THE GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

"$\frac{10}{20}$ *October* 1687.

" . . . To what I have written this day to the Secretary of State concerning the critical state of this kingdom . . . I must add that all is in great measure due to the Prince of Orange, who, as is known to the King, has proposed, either before or after the death of His Majesty to enter this country *armata manu* to seize the succession for his wife, for fear it should be contested by the Catholics or others. And having gained those of Amsterdam whose consent was still wanting to him, he seems to have prevailed upon them that, whether in peace or in war, the States General shall keep at least twenty-five vessels in readiness so that he may throw himself suddenly upon these coasts when he finds it opportune. Meanwhile he continues to disaffect the English troops out there [there were six regiments in the service of the United Provinces] turning out the Catholics and filling their places with Huguenots fled thither from France.

His Majesty persists in his desire to have Father Pitter a Cardinal, and in order better to deserve it, undertakes to soften the asperity of France in the pretensions with which her ambassador Lavardin is going to Rome, and finally, if with all this he cannot overcome the Pope's obstinacy, he hopes, owing to his great age, to obtain it from his successor. . . . "

The quarrel here alluded to between France and the Holy See arose from Innocent XI's act in reforming a great abuse in Rome—that of the right of sanctuary exercised in their whole *quarter* by the different Embassies, making those quarters

veritable dens of thieves. All the powers agreed to the Pope's wishes except Louis XIV, who pompously refused, and sent a considerable force of troops to protect his embassy. Innocent replied by excommunicating the Ambassador. With regard to the Cardinalate, the Pope wrote to the Provincial of the Jesuits, advising him to curb Father Petre's ambition. 1687

On Mary Beatrice's return to London she found the Queen Dowager with ruffled feelings on account of the depth of the mourning which had been ordered for the Duchess of Modena, "when her own mother was not so honoured although she was a Queen," reports Terriesi, who adds that she has refused to put her carriage in black, and declared she will go back to Portugal, but he does not think she will do so, "being so exceedingly well treated by both the reigning soverigns." The Queen found means to pacify the dowager, and the project of departure was given up—to be resumed a few months later.

On the 11th November James appointed Father Petre Clerk of the Closet and Privy Councillor. The impolicy of the act was glaring, and was opposed not only by the Queen and all the moderate Catholics, but Petre himself said he accepted it with the greatest reluctance. He was probably over-persuaded by Sunderland, whom he regarded as an unfeigned friend, but to whom his presence in the Council was useful as a screen; all obnoxious measures were sure to be attributed to the Jesuit, who was "both an instrument and a cloke to all his dark designs."

TERRIESI TO THE GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

"$\frac{14}{24}$ *November* 1687.

"... The appointment of the Jesuit Father Peter (*sic*) to the Privy Council makes more noise among the Protestants and also among the Catholics than any other of His Majesty's most resolute acts, no one being more alarmed than Monsignor Nuncio himself ...

May it please God to put an end to these disorders by giving an heir to the crown, which the reported pregnancy of the Queen gives hopes of; this would be the best antidote against the fire

1687 the Prince of Orange has kindled and is feeding in these realms, and would abate the pride of so many, who in the expectation of a Protestant succession, permit themselves an open opposition to all the royal transactions . . . "

The report about the Queen was true, and if it was hailed with joy by the King and his friends, it spread dismay among his adversaries, who had assumed, rather gratuitously with respect to a woman not yet thirty years of age, that she would have no more children now that four years had elapsed since the birth of the little Princess Charlotte, and that she had lately suffered from ill-health. Dismay and anger were soon to become open-eared credulity to the worst of calumnies and slanders.

Terriesi had informed his Government that the King, in appointing Cardinal d'Este to be protector of the English at Rome with a salary of £5,000, in the place of Cardinal Howard, had done so at the request of the Queen. It is possible that Mary Beatrice did not actually solicit the impolitic act, which was to set against her and her husband the powerful family of Howard, but there can be little doubt but that James made the appointment for her sake. She writes of it herself to her uncle in the following letter :—

"Whitehall, 28 *November* 1687.

"It pains me to have remained so long without writing to you, especially as I had your letters which required answers, but I have been ill so often since I came back from Bath, that I had no heart to do so. Not being able to write myself, I desired Marquis Cattaneo to inform you of the King's resolution to declare you Protector of this Kingdom and to give you the charge of all his affairs in Rome with the pension he usually gives his Ambassadors, but not the title, for reasons I omit for the present. I feel the greatest satisfaction, and it will seem a thousand years to me before I see you actually employed in the King's service; therefore I hope you will instantly leave for Rome, where it will be necessary at once to remove the Arms of France from the palace, and replace them with those of the King, that there may not be the slightest suspicion that you could depend upon any other crown but this; and I take it upon myself to pacify France

should it be necessary, but I will not anticipate it as that would be to suppose the King of France unreasonable, which I do not believe him to be, and consequently he cannot take in bad part a thing which as they say, goes of itself (*và co suoi piedi*). In this I give you my opinion with all freedom thinking that by so doing I shall meet your wishes . . . praying you with all my heart to do the same by me, and when my reasons do not satisfy you, to answer them and give me your own with equal freedom. . . . 1687

As to the red hat for Don Livio (Odescalchi) it is impossible to obtain it through the King, as he is already pledged to another in this kingdom, whom he greatly desires to promote, and cannot obtain the favour, which he will ask for no other, until he has obtained it for this person."

The palace of the Este family at Rome must have hitherto been under the protection of France, and we have no record as to the consequences of the advice given to the Cardinal by his niece.

The Declaration of Indulgence had at first been received by the Nonconformists with enthusiasm, and addresses rained upon the King, who accepted them at more than their true value. There is a note in Evelyn's Diary in June of his going to Hampton Court to thank the King for some favour bestowed on himself, and while he was in the Council Chamber a deputation was introduced from Coventry, "with expressions of great loyalty and submission. To which the King, pulling off his hat, sayd, that what he had don in giving liberty of conscience; was what was ever his judgment ought to be don; and that as he would preserve them in their enjoyment of it during his reigne, so he would endeavour to settle it by law, that it should never be alter'd by his successors." On October 29, he notes again:—"An Anabaptist, a very odd ignorant person was Lord Mayor (Sir John Peake) The King and Queene, and Dadi [d'Adda] the Pope's Nuncio, invited to a feast at Guildhall. A very strange turn of affairs!"

By the autumn the tide had turned and the Nonconformists were ready to repudiate a gift in which the hated Papists were to have a share, and Terriesi, who had before expressed his

1687 surprise at the King throwing himself into the arms of fanatics who had done their utmost to deprive him of the succession and even of his life, writes to the Secretary of State :

"$\frac{21\ November}{1\ December}$ 1687.

". . . And the fanatics themselves, (though so vastly indebted to His Majesty) affirm that they understand what his acts of favour to them really mean, and that His Majesty must not persuade himself that they will gratify him by giving their votes in Parliament for the abolition of the penal laws and the Test . . . for they will never consent to it. . . . The Catholics, who are terrified at such procedures, show themselves more than ever averse to the ardour with which His Majesty is promoting their interests, and the more ready he shows himself, the slower are they in giving him their support ; it is they who more than any others regret the appointment of Father Piter (*sic*) to the Privy Council and they fear His Majesty may also promote Bishop Leyburne to it. . . . The fanatics whom His Majesty placed in the government of the City, immediately began to act against him, and there has been a grave contest between the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen because Monsignor Nuncio was invited to the banquet at the Guildhall on Lord Mayor's day, pretending it was a crime which every one wishes to lay on his neighbour. . . .

Several Peers of the realm, by the King's order, went to their estates to enquire whether their people would vote for the abolition of the Test, etc., and all met with an open refusal. . . ."

Terriesi refers to the King's unfortunate attempts to "pack" the coming Parliament and he continues a few days later :—

"His Majesty's enterprise in favour of the Catholic religion continually takes a worse aspect, and even the Catholics daily show themselves more averse to it. Unless God brings it to pass by a supernatural effect of His omnipotence, Your Excellency may rest assured that it will never succeed ; it is the general belief that His Majesty intends to make himself despotic as the King of France has done, and that is a thing as little desired by the Catholics as by the others. . . . There is a strong hope that the reported pregnancy of the Queen will soon be confirmed, but it would be impossible to describe the passion of those who do not desire it, nor the schemes and reflections of both

parties, in case it should be true. . . . It suffices to say that the rumour has caused general confusion, as of an affair likely to destroy many concerted plans. . . ." 1688

"$\frac{23\ December}{2\ January}$ $168\frac{7}{8}$.

". . . No words can express the rage of the Princess of Denmark at the Queen's condition, she can dissimulate it to no one; and seeing that the Catholic religion has a prospect of advancement, she affects more than ever, both in public and in private to show herself hostile to it, and the most zealous of Protestants, with whom she is gaining the greatest power and credit at this conjuncture."

The Queen meanwhile was continuing her efforts to obtain the hand of the Medici princess for her brother, and there is a letter from Louis XIV to Barillon, in December 1687 saying he has done all he can in favour of the marriage: "and if time disabuses that Princess and the Grand Duke her father of the hopes they may have conceived of a more advantageous alliance, I should be very glad to further the wishes of the Queen of England." Mary Beatrice also did her part in thwarting the ambitious schemes of Lord Sunderland. He applied to her intercession at this time to obtain the white staff of Lord High Treasurer, which James had repeatedly refused him. The King himself describes the wily minister going to the Queen and telling her that Father Petre and Sir Nicholas Butler (one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and a pretended convert of Father Petre's) "had press'd him for several months to think of being Treasurer . . . He assured Her Majesty it was not of his seeking, being very well contented as he was; upon which the Queen took him at his word, and said she was glad to find him of that mind, for that after the King's declaration in Council, and settled resolution in the matter, there was no probabilitie of persuading him to alter it, especially since it was so agreeable to reason as it manifestly appear'd to be."

Affaires Étrangères

Memoirs of James II

The impolicy of the supersession of Cardinal Howard by Prince Rinaldo d'Este as protector of the English at Rome, had by this time become apparent to the Queen, and woman-like

1688 she attempts to soften the blow by a letter, almost of excuse, to the Cardinal. In spite of the kindness of its terms, the letter was not likely to make a deep impression upon its recipient, who probably accorded no more than an official credence to its fair words. It is written by the Queen's secretary Caryll, and is undated.

Caryll Papers

"My Lord, I have a particular command from the Queen to acquaint your Eminence how much Her Majesty is concerned least you should attribute to her any unkindness upon your account of transferring ye Protectorship of England to Cardinal d'Este. As it did not proceed originally from her, so when they would have made a compliment of it to her, she would not take it as such, because it was a trouble to her, that your Eminence should be dispossessed of a charge which you had performed so well. Although she yielded to it for other reasons, I suppose not unknown to your Eminence, and which I believe have no lesse weight with you, than they have with her, I can assure your eminence that her M^y^ has at present no lesse kindnes for your person, than ever formerly she had, and that she is as ready to give you marks of upon any fitt occasion that shall offer itself. . . ."

TERRIESI TO THE GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

"LONDON, *January* $\frac{9}{19}$, 1688.

"This royal Court has appointed the 15th inst. in this city, and the 29th in the rest of the kingdom as days of public prayer for the Queen. . . . The King directed the protestant form to be drawn up by the Bishops of Duresme [Durham] Rochester and Peterborough. . . . This pregnancy of the Queen, at a time when utterly different expectations were prevalent concerning her, has caused great surprise, and especially among those who, in their measures, had little calculated upon such an accident; the Orangists, therefore, refuse to believe it . . . or impudently declare it to be a fiction. . . ."

A few days later, Terriesi writes again :—

"The Queen's condition continues to make good progress. Her Majesty is however greatly afflicted at hearing of the satires (which are already being published) against her; and indeed, most innocent in all her actions, she has never given cause to any one save to worship her."

What Macpherson calls "the unmanly tale" was not entirely new; the exclusionists had whispered it before the birth of the little Princess Charlotte, and now the stale artifice was to be used again with deadly effect by skilful and unscrupulous men, among whom Dr. Burnet may be considered one of the chief, the first public doubt being printed in Holland, where he had taken refuge. The States General had refused to deliver him up in conformity with the Treaty of Breda, and there is a letter from Louis XIV to Barillon, dated Versailles, 9 January, in which he says :— 1688

> "As to Dr. Burnet, it has been notified to me that nothing could surpass the insolence with which he has written against the King his master, and I have therefore ordered the Sieur de Croissy to assure the Sieur Skelton [English Ambassador at the Hague] that any one who would undertake to seize him in Holland would find not only an assured retreat, and entire protection in my dominions, but all the assistance necessary to conduct that scoundrel to England." Affaires Étrangères

Lord Clarendon's diary reflects the indifference or disappointment with which the news of the royal hopes was received by the public. As uncle to the Princesses Mary and Anne, his attitude of honest belief and fidelity before and after the Prince of Wales's birth is doubly interesting.

> "*January* 15, 1688. Sunday. In the morning to St. James's Church. There were not above two or three who brought the form of prayer with them." He goes on to say that "it is strange to see" how the Queen's condition "is everywhere ridiculed, as if scarce any body believes it to be true. Good God help us."

One of the oft-repeated calumnies against the King asserts that in the proclamation for the prayer in thanksgiving for the Queen's condition, it was intimated that the child was to be a son, and especially so in the Catholic form. The words are actually these :—"His Majesty has apparent hope and good assurance of having issue by his royal consort the Queen," and the Catholic prayer, which had been in use for centuries on such occasions :—"Concede propitius ut famula tua, regina nostra Maria, partu felici prolem edat tibi fideliter servituram."

CHAPTER VII

1688 THE despatches of Philip John Hoffmann, Imperial envoy to the English Court, give an interesting picture of the policy of James II during the last year of his inauspicious reign, and have not hitherto been published in English. He held a high rank among foreign diplomatists, and seems to have understood the trend of English affairs better than the King himself, who, often duped and betrayed, and blinded by his own illusions, steadily pursued the path which led to ruin.

The lords-lieutenant of almost all the counties of England had been ordered at the close of 1687 to call together their deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace, and to ask them the three following questions :—(1) In case the King should call a Parliament, and they should be chosen members of it, would they vote against the Test and penal laws? (2) If they would vote for such members as they believed would be for the repeal of the same? (3) Whether they would live peaceably, and as Christians ought to live, with such as differed from them in religion? "This certainly," wrote Sir John Reresby in his Memoirs under the date December 7, 1687, "was pushing the point much too far . . . . It was striking at the very foundation of Parliament thus to pre-engage the members, who . . . are by the laws of the land allowed freedom of speech and freedom of judgment."

Hoffmann writes to the Emperor Leopold, January 16, 1688, that all the envoys have come back from their respective provinces :—"and all their reports agree on the point that

there is neither appearance nor hope of things being carried out in the form and manner the court had imagined ; the aversion of the people for the revocation of the penal laws is not so great as for the abolition of the Test, to which no one, so to speak, would consent." He then gives the chief arguments used in support of this refusal, concluding :—" It is easy to foresee how difficult it will be for the King, whatever obstinacy he may bring to bear upon it, to succeed in this affair . . . January 19. I informed Your Majesty in my last letter of the sentiments of the Protestants against the abolition of the Test ; these ideas have now been scattered abroad many thousand times in the shape of an answer from Pensionary Fagel, sent by order of the Prince of Orange, to the letter of some preacher here, much to the prejudice of the King's designs, and to his great displeasure. . . ." Hoffmann here refers to a skilful move on the part of the Prince, the occasion of which had been furnished by the King himself in two long letters asking for his cooperation in the abolition of the penal laws and the Test. William answered that, although he would sooner lose his life than be a persecutor, neither he nor the Princess would ever consent to the repeal of laws which were necessary for the support of the Protestant religion. Fagel's letter, which was published in Dutch, French, English, and Latin, 45,000 copies being distributed in England, emphasised this view, and was so cleverly constructed as to impress upon the Catholic Princes of Europe that William bore no real hostility to the Catholic religion, and was willing to grant the Catholics of England the liberties enjoyed by the Catholics in Holland, while it amply assured the British Protestants that they might look upon him as the uncompromising champion of their cause.

1688 Imp. Archives, Vienna

In a despatch of February 2nd, after acquainting the Emperor with the recall of the British regiments from Holland, and the demand for Burnet's extradition—" a seditious man . . . who continually publishes new pamphlets against this government," the Ambassador writes :—" but the real grievance (pietra di scandolo) is that the Prince, the States General and the very

1688 burgesses meddle in an unheard of manner in the Government of England, especially in matters of religion, thwarting the King in all his measures ; in a word, they talk, write, print and act more than the English themselves against the abolition of the Test, which is particularly disagreeable to the King, a proud and sensitive man, at a moment when the Queen is supporting the fatigues of her condition so well, and may, to the disappointment of all the presumptive heirs, give birth to a prince."

At this moment of anxiety and unrest, the King and Queen had a fresh annoyance in the renewed project of departure of the Queen Dowager to Portugal. "She breathed no word of her design to the King," writes Hoffmann, "until everything had been arranged with the King of Portugal." This was looked upon as an ill return for all the kindness the King and Queen had always shown her :—"The King having increased her income by £600, and going to see her five or six times a week." To mark his displeasure, James asked her no question as to her motives, but merely expressed his regret and requested to be informed of the date of her departure, that he might have vessels in readiness to convey her. "She replied that there was no hurry as she would wait for an Ambassador from her brother ; having come to England accompanied by an Ambassador, she thought it fitting she should have one to take her away. This conduct and especially the great mystery used (which is here called Portuguese *finesse*) . . . . has greatly astonished the Court and diminishes the affection and esteem she had won from the nation by her goodness and affability."

Imp. Archives, Vienna

The same despatch describes one of King James's blundering attempts to familiarise his subjects with the sight of persons and things appertaining to his own religion. His former attempts, instead of making for toleration, had brought him annoyance and disaffection, such as the Duke of Somerset's refusal to introduce the Papal Nuncio at Court ; but each rebuff seemed only to strengthen his persistent obstinacy in defying the prejudices of his people.

Hoffmann writes, February 13 :— 1688

"After the Elector of Cologne's Resident here, Gloxcin, had been recalled, he was replaced by an English Benedictine of the name of Corkaer[1] who was received in public audience yesterday. By the King's command, he appeared in his habit, and preceded by four other monks; it was assuredly a remarkable spectacle for the Court, who looked astonished and bewildered, and if the day of audience had been known, it cannot be doubted but that half London would have been there."

The tide of public discontent was rising, and the vulgarest murder could not be committed in London without furnishing matter for accusation against the Papists. Terriesi gives a long account at this time of the murder of a man by his wife, who happened to be a Frenchwoman and a midwife. The story immediately flew abroad that she was to have been employed in bringing a supposititious prince to the Queen at the proper time, that her husband, a butcher by trade, had discovered the secret and had consequently been made away with.

By the King and his party the hope that the Queen might give a male heir to the Crown appeared as the solution of difficulties and the discomfiture of the malcontents and Orangists. Hoffmann, more clear-sighted, thinks differently. Writing to the Emperor, April 2, 1688, after alluding to the disagreements between the King and the States General, he remarks :—

"Many of the most judicious here are of opinion that if the Queen gives birth to a Prince, far from destroying the aspirations of other persons to the Crown and putting an end to all their anticipations, interferences, and enterprises, such an event would only consolidate the union among these religionists, increase their aversion for the King, and make them use every effort to prevent the Catholic succession to the Crown. . . . But as the King is well on his guard and very resolute, one may have so much confidence in him . . . as to believe he will be able to avert such a misfortune at the proper time. Imp. Archives, Vienna

Contrary to her usual habit, the Queen is keeping so well in her

[1] Corker had been tried for his life during Oates's plot.

1688 present condition, that there is every hope of her fortunate deliverance in the middle of July, and, as the residence here would not be commodious, she means to lie-in at Windsor. . . ."

NUNCIO D'ADDA TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

"WINDSOR, 23 *April* 1688.

Vatican Archives

". . . It appears that the removal to Windsor remains fixed for the end of next month, and meanwhile the Queen is in prosperous health and in the good continuance of her pregnancy, concerning which the King told me, satirical caricatures are being published in Holland, which is not to be wondered at as even here the more obstinate heretics publish that Her Majesty's condition is a fiction, and that she wears a cushion."

A few days later the hopes of the royalists and the fears and disgust of their adversaries nearly came to a sudden and calamitous end. The Queen had been in much anxiety concerning her brother, who had had a sharp attack of illness, from which he was recovering.

"On Wednesday night," writes Terriesi to the Florentine Secretary of State, May $\frac{11}{21}$:—

"Her Majesty the Queen gave great alarm lest she should miscarry, owing to the carelessness or the malice of a lady of her bedchamber, Mrs. Bromley, who, immediately after the arrival of the Italian post the previous day, had brought her the news of the death of the Duke of Modena, saying the town was full of it, and the tradesmen enquiring how Her Majesty desired the mourning to be worn. The Queen knew her brother had been ill of the stone, the malady of which his father had died when 28 years old, the age the Duke has just attained; so that, although the news she had received was quite contrary, Her Majesty received a terrible shock. Unfortunately, her chaplain, Ronchi, a few minutes later, sent her a letter he had just received from Cardinal d'Este, giving an account of the Duke's recovery, but commencing with expressions of so much grief at his illness as to appear a preparation for the worst; the Queen, unable to read further, dropped the paper, and swooned. None of those present being able to read Italian, could understand what had happened, so sent for the Nuncio, who was in the palace, and was able to reassure her. . . . The following night she was

seized with such violent illness, that the doctors thought a miscarriage inevitable; a special messenger was sent to the King, who was at Chatham, and who returned in utmost haste to find that the danger was over." 1688

The Queen writes of this accident to the Princess of Orange on the 15th May, saying she has been "soundly frightened. . . . I am now within six weeks . . ." In February she had also written to her of her condition, and with the same miscalculation of four weeks. Henry Ellis Papers, 1st Series, iii. p. 348

The Duke of Modena seems really to have intended to pay his long-promised visit to England at this time if his illness had not intervened, though Barillon had written in January that Prince Cesare would probably prevent it if he could.

d'Adda writes to the Cardinal Secretary of State of the projected visit "accompanied by Prince Cesare, and that he (the Duke of Modena) deemed it necessary Cardinal d'Este should defer his departure for Rome, in order to attend to the Government during his absence." The Nuncio further expresses the opinion that the Cardinal is afraid of Prince Cesare trying to seize the succession, and that as he has the State jewels and money in his possession, he requires to be kept under careful supervision.

Although Mary of Modena treated the calumnies poured forth against her with scorn, and was anxious to go to Windsor before the heat of summer, especially as there were building alterations going on at Whitehall, it was considered advisable that her child should be born in London.

Terriesi writes, May $\frac{18}{28}$, that in spite of the Queen's passionate desire, the departure for Windsor will probably be abandoned—"to confound the malicious invention which, chief among all the satires and calumnies concerning her, insists that the going to Windsor was meant to screen Her Majesty from the eyes of those who would have detected her. It looks as if the enemy of mankind himself had plotted against this birth, for it is difficult to see how . . . in the present state of the royal palace, Her Majesty can possibly remain there."

1688 Almost on the eve of his son's birth, King James took the most disastrous steps of his short reign, the order to read a new Declaration concerning liberty of conscience in the churches, and the prosecution of the seven Bishops, by which he arrayed the whole Church of England against the authority of the Crown. Hoffmann writes to the Emperor 31 May, 1688:—

Imp. Archives, Vienna

". . . Of 96 ministers composing the clergy of this town, 80 have roundly pronounced themselves against reading the Declaration; a petition has been signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and six other Bishops and was presented to the King on Friday evening. . . . This petition contains certain seditious and scandalous expressions such as. . . . 'This declaration, which is based upon a dispensing power . . . appears to us illegal . . . etc. etc.' The King was much offended and allowed the lively expression to escape him:—'I see you are trying to excite a sedition, but I shall know how to prevent it.' The next day he said to another Bishop:—'Your brethren yesterday presented me with the most seditious writing I ever saw in my life.' It remains to be seen what steps the Court will take with respect to this scandalous disobedience. . . . Yesterday the Declaration was read only in the royal chapels and in one or two churches.

It may be judged by this act on the part of the clergy, how the religious question now stands, even if there were not a hundred other melancholy signs, and its consequences will be all the more unfortunate that, up to the present, with the exception of sundry Bishops and preachers, the clergy has shown itself more moderate than the laity. . . . The anxiety and annoyance of the King may be imagined. . . . Things are daily advancing towards a catastrophe, and many people begin to doubt the calling of Parliament for December because, under the circumstances, instead of being useful, it would assuredly do great harm. In spite of all, the King in no way departs from his habitual confidence, and although from time to time he shows himself much troubled, he gives no signs whatever of renouncing his intentions. . . ."

"Never," writes Terriesi the next day in a cyphered despatch to Duke Cosimo,

"before or since he was King, has His Majesty found himself in such embarrassment as at present, brought on by his own act in

ordering the reading of the Declaration in the churches . . . and the great question in the Council is whether to persevere, or to let the matter drop, the Catholics themselves being divided upon it. . . . The whole Kingdom is alarmed . . . and what is worse, the greater part of the army and its principal chiefs take part with the Bishops. So there is no appearance (even if worse does not happen them) of the Catholics participating in liberty or conscience. There seems no hope for them but in a Catholic successor whom His Majesty might leave behind him after a reign of many years. . . . The populace is enraged with the belief that the King's conduct is influenced by the Queen, and by the advice of the Jesuits and friars. . . . The Pope never having consented, to the great sorrow of His Majesty, to remove from Father Pitter's (*sic*) shoulders the (in this country) hated character of Jesuit, and the King, owing to the feebleness or ill-will of the rest of his Council, being obliged to employ him in many great negotiations . . . by so doing, rather makes him the instrument of His Majesty's own ruin." 1688

NUNCIO D'ADDA TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

"*June* 11, 1688.

". . . The removal to Windsor has been deferred until after the Queen's lying-in, and orders have been given to prepare St. James's palace, the apartments Her Majesty occupies at present being too small and exposed to the sun. Brit. Mus. Vatican Transcripts, 15,397 f. 104

Among the many chief ladies of the realm who have applied for the post, the Marchioness of Powis has been chosen as Governess to the coming infant; she is a most pious lady and in the opinion of all, well fitted for so great an employment. . . . The misfortune of the death of the little Duke of Cambridge (who, had he lived would now be Prince of Wales) being attributed by many to the negligence of those who had charge of him, the election has been made with the utmost care of a person of more than ordinary prudence and vigilance. . . . At the same time Milady Strickland has been named sub-Governess . . . and these appointments seem really to have been decided . . . solely by merit."

(Winifride, daughter of Sir Charles Trentham, and married to Sir Charles Strickland, followed Mary Beatrice into exile and remained with her until the Queen's death.)

1688 Lord Thomas Howard was sent on a special mission to Rome at this time, and the Queen charged him with a letter to Pope Innocent XI, in which she made no allusion to the difficulties of the time, but merely assured him of her inviolable devotion and begged his prayers and blessings for herself and for the child she hoped soon to bring forth.

Mary Beatrice's own inclinations were always towards prudence and moderation; she looked upon Father Petre with coldness if not aversion, but was ready to co-operate with him whenever he strove to moderate the King's imprudence.—"The Lingard Queen, as well as myself," wrote Petre on the occasion of one of James's ill-advised letters to the Prince of Orange regarding the Penal Laws, "was of opinion against sending any such letter to the Hague upon this subject, but rather some person able to discourse and persuade should have been sent thither. For all such letters, when they are not grateful, produce bad effects. That which is spoken face to face is not so easily divulged, nor anything discovered to the vulgar, but what we have a mind the people should know."

In the question of the prosecution of the seven bishops it seems clear, despite the reports circulated at the time, that Petre was against so severe a measure and that he absented himself from the Council when it was agreed upon. Sunderland, on the other hand, according to Sir John Dalrymple, promoted the prosecution, "while underhand he exhorted the Bishopps to stand firm." James's own subsequent opinion is Memoirs of James II interesting:—"It was the King's misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous councells . . . but his prepossession against that yielding temper, which had proved so dangerous to the King his brother, and so fatal to the King his father, fixed him *too obstinately* (*words interlined by his son*) in a contrary method." Lord Clarendon's Journal reports a conversation with Jeffreys a few days later, when Jeffreys tells him the King was disposed to overlook the affront, but allowed himself to be dissuaded by men who pushed him on to his ruin.

To Hoffmann, the technical offence contained in the Bishops' petition does not admit of doubt. He calls it, in a despatch to the Emperor of the $\frac{4}{14}$ June:—". . . the crime they have committed in contesting and attacking the royal prerogative in such scandalous terms." But the gravity and impolicy of the prosecution seem equally plain to the Ambassador.—"This is generally regarded," he goes on, "as the beginning of a Revolution . . . for the Court has not only these seven Bishops to deal with, but the whole clergy (for only to speak of the Bishops, out of twenty-three only three or four have declared for the King). The King's firmness and obstinacy make them fear extreme measures, but they will not recognise that their own obstinacy in refusing to comply with his wish, supplies the motive and prepares the way for this extremity. . . . The fact which has resulted, viz.: this refusal of the Protestant clergy, concerted, one may say, with the Presbyterians, who prefer not to enjoy liberty of conscience than to share it with the Catholics . . . has disconcerted the Court, and has thrown it into the labyrinth in which it now finds itself." 1688 Imp. Archives, Vienna

That Mary Beatrice deprecated the prosecution seems certain, although she bitterly felt, as we know by Clarendon's reports of his later conversations with her, how much her husband "was misunderstood by his people," and could see nothing but good in his desire to establish liberty of conscience. At this time the Queen experienced little comfort from the relations to whom she was so devotedly attached;—her brother in ill health and under the dominion of Prince Cesare, whom she regarded as the evil genius of her family, Cardinal d'Este showing no haste to take up the post which had cost her the friendship of the Howards, and her step-daughters about to prove themselves examples of filial ingratitude to all time. Catherine of Braganza, on the other hand, gave up her project of departure, which would have appeared almost like an abandonment of her sister-in-law at this conjuncture, and elected to remain in England. One faithful and devoted old servant now returned

1688 to the Queen—the Abbé Rizzini, who succeeded Marquis Cattaneo as Modenese envoy in London. He arrived from Paris in June, and writing on the $\frac{7}{17}$ to the Duke of Modena reports his first audience with the Queen and all her gracious expressions of satisfaction at seeing him again,—"and that my services will be as useful and as welcome to her here as they were in Paris, and she hopes they may be equally so to Your Serene Highness."

The Bishops were sent to the Tower, and Hoffmann writes $\frac{8}{18}$ June:—

> ". . . It is as yet impossible to tell what impression the unexpected imprisonment of these men will make, as it took place at six o'clock in the evening. . . . Time will show us what will follow upon it, but this business must be considered as unavoidably leading to great revolutions."

Two days later the child was born, the longed-for heir, whose advent was to seal his parents' doom. No longer could James and Mary Beatrice's adversaries "wait for better days" and a Protestant succession, and baffled ambitions and thwarted expectations were soon to burst forth in a double cry of denial of the fact which disconcerted them, and of fury against its innocent cause.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

"WHITEHALL, $\frac{10}{20}$ *June* 1688.

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6119 f. 51

"After our very hearty Commendacions to yo^{r} Lo^{p} It having pleased Almighty God, about Ten of the Clock this morning to blesse His Maj^{y} and his Royall Consort the Queene with the Birth of a hopefull son, and His Maj$^{ty's}$ Kingdomes and Dominions with a Prince Wee doe by His Maj$^{ty's}$ Command, hereby signify the same unto yo^{r} Lordship Desiring That it be Likewise forthwith communicated by you to your Deputy Lieutenants, the Justices of Peace, and the severall Corporations within your lieutenancy to the end they may all joyne, at such time as His Maj^{y} shall please to appoint by his Royall Proclamation for that purpose, as well in solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for so inestimable a Blessing as in such other expressions of Publicque Rejoycing, as are suitable and accustomed on so

British Museum. Largillière.

James, Prince of Wales.

great an occasion. And so Wee do bid yr Lop very heartily farewell. 1688
From the Council Chamber in Whitehall the 10th of June 1688

Yor Lop's very Loving Friends

Bathe — Jeffreys C.
Craven — Sunderland P.
Middleton — Powis
Castlemaine
Dover
Dartmouth
J. Ernle.

Earle of Rochester
Ld Lt of Hertford "

The King wrote the joyful news the same day to the Duke of Modena, and all the Ambassadors communicated it, some by special messengers, to their respective Courts, with notes of gratification at the child's strong and healthy appearance. Rizzini writes :—

". . . For the past three or four days Her Majesty the Queen felt extremely well; last night she played at basset and went tranquilly to bed, and this morning about eight o'clock was suddenly seized with pain, and at ten o'clock gave birth to a little prince, admirably formed, who promises to live, and appears as prosperous as possible. . . . The joy is great here, and will be so in all Christendom. The King expressed his own by embracing me in a transport of joy and benignity."

No account is more graphic than that of Terriesi :—

". . . I cannot express the joy in the King's aspect, when, after giving thanks to God, he went to the Council Chamber. . . . I saw the new-born Prince, and that he was beautiful, and as big and vigorous as a creature of his age could be. . . . The Queen's chamber was public at the time of the birth to all ladies who chose to enter, and the ante-room to all men, almost indiscriminately; so there is no fear but that both were filled with curious spectators; the Queen Dowager was present the whole time, and besides the well-affected, many of the malcontents of both sexes, so all the mischievous deceits invented by the malicious respecting a fictitious pregnancy must now be dispelled.

So far, nothing has been uttered but that the child will not live

1688 having been born at eight months, but there again they deceive themselves as it is full nine months counting from Bath, and not from Her Majesty's return here, as they wish to count. . . ."

The Queen had in fact two reckonings, and expected to go to the later date, July, which explains her removal to St. James's Palace on the very eve of the birth, a circumstance imputed almost as a crime to her.

Terriesi underestimated the audacity and the inventive powers of the "malicious," as well as the credulity of the vulgar, when he concluded that the great numbers of witnesses of the birth must of necessity put an end to the calumnies against the Queen. From that crowd which filled her chamber, to the wounding of her modesty, as we know from one of the ladies present, there were in fact three notable absences—those of Princess Anne, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Clarendon, the nearest maternal relative of the two Princesses. The Princess Anne, with her husband Prince George of Denmark, had left London for Bath a few days previously, meeting her father's earnest entreaty that she would defer her journey until after the Queen's delivery, with the plea that delay would endanger her health. The King answered—"If her health was concern'd, all other considerations must yield to that, and indeed, the Queen having two reckonings, it was believed she would go to the latter, and the King calculated the Princess would be back in time, which made him easilyer satisfyd with her reasons."

Memoirs of James II

The Archbishop was in the Tower,—purposely sent there, according to the malcontents, to be out of the way—whilst James's own subsequent opinion was that his hand had been forced "seeing that an imprisonment would not only inflame the more, but prevent the Archbishop of Canterbury's being a Witness to the Queen's delivery, which they knew the Kingdom had already resolved to question and Cavil with."

Lord Clarendon was at church—it was Trinity Sunday—and on his way home, his page met him with the news. "I went to Court," he writes in his journal, "and found the King

shaving. I kissed his hand, and wished him joy. He said the Queen was so quick in her labour, and he had so much company that he had not time to dress himself till now. He bid me go and see the Prince, he was asleep in his cradle and was a very fine child to look upon. June 11 : In the morning there was a strong rumour that the young Prince was dead. He had been ill in the night and the King was called up ; but on giving him remedies, God be thanked, he grew better." 1688

HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR.

"$\frac{11}{21}$ *June* 1688.

". . . Without losing a moment he [the King] sent an autograph letter by Col. Ogledorf [Oglethorpe] to the Prince and Princess of Denmark who are at Bath. . . . The King told him he was not only to remit the letter but to give testimony *de visu* and therefore led him by the hand to the Queen's bedroom, which he has done jokingly with others . . . and not without reason, for the wickedness of some people goes so far as to make them capable of accepting the idea of an imposture . . . their malice inclining them to believe that which suits their interests. . . .

The King at once honoured the midwife with a purse of 500 guineas, for her breakfast, as he said. This happy event causes the seven Bishops in the Tower to be forgotten for the moment, and other matters also."

The Ambassadors took a lively interest in the new-born heir, Barillon visited him daily, reporting his lusty cries, and that he is to be brought up by hand, all the Queen's former children having died of convulsions, attributed by the doctors to their having been wet-nursed.—"It is to be hoped," the Ambassador writes to Louis XIV, "this extraordinary method may succeed ; there are wet nurses in readiness should their services be required." The little Prince's establishment is given in the Ellis Correspondence :—"two day nurses, four rockers, a laundress and seamstress and two pages of the back stairs." He was baptized the day after his birth in the presence of the Nuncio, in the

Affaires Étrangères

1688 Queen's bed-chamber, the full ceremonies of christening and naming him James Francis Edward taking place later. The Pope, represented by the Nuncio, was god-father and the Queen Dowager god-mother.

Dryden celebrated the event in his *Britannia Rediviva* beginning with the well-known lines :—

> "Our vows are heard betimes, and heaven takes care
> To grant, before we can conclude the prayer:
> Preventing angels met it half the way
> And sent us back to praise who came to pray."

and its graceful homage to the Queen :—

> "You, who your native climate have bereft
> Of all the virtues, and the vices left;
> Whom piety and beauty make their boast
> Tho' beautiful is well in pious lost."

If Dryden represented the opinion of Mary of Modena's friends, the Orange party at first appeared consternated. "They flattered themselves at first that the child would not live," writes Barillon, "but now they see they cannot count upon the death of an infant who has every appearance of living." So the flood-gates of calumny were let loose, and various were the rumours set afloat—the Queen had miscarried at three, at five, at seven months,—she had given birth to a daughter, for whom a male child had been substituted,—her child was born dead—there was no child at all and a base-born impostor had been introduced into her bed. The trivial fact that a warming-pan had been used to air the sheets was seized upon with avidity, and a credulous public was soon taught to believe that in it had the little *Pretender* been conveyed. Worse still, another rumour attacked the paternity of the child, and in lampoons and caricatures of the most offensive kind, the fair fame as well as the motherly dignity of the chastest princess in Europe was impugned.

The envoys tell their respective governments of these things, of the meagre display of bonfires in the City and of the public indifference, but they did not know that on the 30th June

William of Orange's adherents in England, represented by the Lords Devonshire, Danby, Shrewsbury, and Lumley, Compton, Bishop of London, Admiral Russell and Henry Sidney, signed the famous letter, promising to join him if he would invade their King's dominions. "Immortal seven!" exclaims Dalrymple, "whose memories Britain can never sufficiently revere." 1688

If there were two women in the world who should have been slow to suspect the Queen, they were surely the step-daughters who for fifteen years had received nothing but kindness at her hands, and yet there is no sadder reading on this sordid page of our history than the correspondence as given in Dalrymple's Appendix, between the Princess of Orange and the Princess Anne. The former seemed to have a scruple at first in following her sister's lead, some lingering touch of affection or remorse, for Anne in a letter of June 22 complains that though they agree in matters of religion,—"yet I can't help fearing that you are not of my opinion in other things, because you never answered me to anything that I had said of Rogers and of Mansell's wife" [the Queen]. All scruples must, however, have vanished when the Princess of Orange penned the extraordinary letter with the eighteen questions, each in itself an insult to the Queen, respecting the Prince of Wales's birth. The questions were only fit for a jury of matrons, and the answers, in all material points, were a vindication of the Queen.

Happily ignorant, as yet, of these intrigues, the first time Mary Beatrice could use her pen she wrote to the Princess of Orange:—

"St. James's, *July* 6.

"The first moment that I have taken a pen in my hand since I was brought to bed, is this, to write to my dear LEMON."

"Whitehall, July 13th. I did not hope two months ago to have had all well over by this time; for I came a month sooner than I reckoned, which mistake I thought I could not make, counting as I used to do. If my child had not been bigger and stronger than any that ever I had, I should have thought I had come before my time."

Slow as she was to suspect those she loved, the Queen could

1688 not but be pained by the Princess of Orange's attitude. Her next letter, dated Windsor, July 31st, is pathetic. She tells her step-daughter she fears she is not so kind to her as she used to be :—

> "And the reason I have to think so is (for since I have begun I must tell you all the truth) that since I have been brought to bed, you have never once in your Letters to me taken the least notice of my son, no more than if he had never been born, only in that which M. Zuilystein brought, that I look upon as a compliment that you could not avoid, though I should not have taken it so, if ever you had named him afterwards."

Zuyleistein, sent a second time on a double errand of compliment and betrayal, had been received in audience by the Queen on the 28th of June. His "careless air" was made use of, says Dalrymple, the real object of his journey being "to concert with the Prince's friends, his intended expedition to England."

Once more the Queen writes to the Princess of Orange, Windsor, August 17 :—

> "Even in this last letter, by the way you speak of my son ; and the formal name you call him by, I am further confirmed in the thought I had before, that you have for him the last Indifference. The King has often told me, with a great deal of trouble, that often as he has mentioned his son in his letters to you, you never once answered anything concerning him."

The letter is endorsed by the Princess :—

> "Answered that all the King's children shall ever find as much affection and kindness from me as can be expected from children of the same father."

The birth of the Prince of Wales furnished King James with a golden opportunity for escaping from a dangerous dilemma :—

Imp. Archives, Vienna

> ". . . Many well-intentioned persons, even among the Catholics," writes Hoffmann to the Emperor the day after the trial and acquittal of the seven Bishops (July 12, 1688) "had foreseen the evil issue of this affair and, at the birth of the Prince of Wales, prayed the King to profit by the occasion to set the Bishops at liberty, for not only would he have honourably retrieved a false step, but, if he did not win over the Bishops, at least he would leave them, by their release, in the posture of delinquents ; but following the natural inclination which

makes him more prone to seize upon violent methods than upon gentle ones, and which inspires the Catholics with serious fears for the future, he would lend no ear to this proposition. . . ." 1688

"16 *July*, 1688.

". . . . Saturday, for the first time the Queen appeared publicly at table, and in the Chapel."

M. Lente, Danish Envoy in Holland, to Terriesi, Tuscan Envoy in London.

"The Hague. $\frac{19}{29}$ *July*. 1688.

". . . . The Prince of Orange holds no measure—*ne tient aucune mesure*—with the King of England, and this goes so far that yesterday when the Marquis of Albeville [English Ambassador at the Hague] gave a grand fête for the birth of the young English Prince, no members of the Court attended . . . although everybody had been invited and many had promised to come before the Prince of Orange had made it known, underhand, that they would please him by not going to the English Ambassador's. All this is done to throw doubt upon the birth of the Prince, and it is said the Prince of Orange repents himself of having sent an envoy to England to congratulate the King. Of the foreign Ministers, those of Spain and Hanover did not go. . . .

Anyhow, everything was very fine, well-ordered and magnificent, but nobody was there, and every kind of slight was shown to the Marquis of Albeville, so that he was even unable to have the Prince of Orange's trumpeters . . . *che vergogna!*"

Hoffmann to the Emperor.

"23 *July* 1688.

". . . Hardly a day passes but these refractory people cause the King some fresh annoyance; . . . Vice Admiral Herbert (whom the King lately dismissed from his service because he would not declare himself for His Majesty) [in the matter of the abolition of the Test] has entered the Dutch service, and been appointed Admiral for North Holland; as he passes here for the best, if not the only naval commander, this being the opinion of the King himself . . . and as he has taken this step in defiance of the King's formal command not to enter the Dutch service, it is difficult to describe the pain felt by the King at seeing his orders thus despised, and so experienced an officer go over, it may be said, to his declared enemies. . . . Imp. Archives, Vienna

1688 If this caused the King lively displeasure, he experienced no less when the Army in camp, from the first man to the last, shouted 'Hurrah!' at the news of the acquittal of the seven Bishops. If those who eat the King's bread act thus, it is easy to judge of the conduct of those who are out of favour or not in his service."

Admiral Herbert's was a typical case, proving the danger of trying to exact pledges which would hamper freedom of vote in the promised Parliament, and there is a significant passage in Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, as to the alarm James was arousing even in his most faithful subjects :—"Designing for York, I took leave of His Majesty, but with terrible apprehensions that he would put the same question to me he had to others, concerning the repeal ; but he said nothing at all of it . . . . so that I could not but think I had a lucky escape."

The men were few, at this agitated time, who, like thelearned and pious Humphrey Prideaux, Prebendary of Norwich, retained sufficient calmness of judgment to recognise, as he does in a letter to his friend Ellis :—"At present we are only hurt in our imagination, and our greatest torment is our fear of what may after happen ; but I hope they will prove to be only fears and nothing else."

As for the Queen, the very name of Parliament had been too significant to her of anxiety and danger, ever since her first arrival in England, to permit her to judge with her usual clear sightedness of the present crisis :—"Her Majesty conversed very freely with me of public affairs," writes Lord Clarendon about this time, "saying how much the King was misunderstood by his people ; that he intended nothing but a general liberty of conscience which she wondered could be opposed ; that he always intended to support the religion established, being well-satisfied of the loyalty of the Church of England. I took the liberty to tell Her Majesty that liberty of conscience could never be granted but by Act of Parliament ; the Queen did not like what I said and so interrupted me."

HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR. 1688

"3 *August.* 1688.

"Yesterday I found the Court not only exasperated against the Prince of Orange, but greatly afflicted, because he has suddenly forbidden the prayer which has been said in his Chapel for the Prince of Wales, thus throwing suspicion on his birth, which in this kingdom (where already two-thirds of the people are of various opinions, some out of wickedness, and others from established concert or credulity) must have very pernicious consequences. . . ."

All other anxieties were soon lost, for the Queen especially, in alarm for the life of her child. The plan of bringing him up on water gruel and boiled bread was, as might have been expected, a signal failure. He had been removed to Richmond by his governess, Lady Powis, for the sake of the purer air "Each day," writes Hoffmann, "the Queen goes to see him, and never returns until one o'clock in the morning; after great anxiety about him yesterday, the King and Queen, who was weeping abundantly, went to Richmond this morning; on their return we shall know how he is. The illness is attributed to the application of cauteries and to the medicines, also to his being spoon-fed instead of nursed at the breast." On the 6th Terriesi writes to the Grand Duke of Tuscany that his death had been hourly expected all the previous week "from colics and other disorders occasioned by that sort of paste made of oat and barley-meal with which the doctors obstinately insisted upon feeding him. Up to yesterday they had given him all the remedies to be found in the apothecaries' jars and drawers (except milk, which is not to be found there) declaring they would not give him half an hour to live if he were suckled. . . . At last the King ordered the trial to be made, and the wife of a tile-maker, considered a proper person for the purpose, was called in. . . . P.S. I have news from Richmond that the Prince continues to do well, on a natural diet." The Ellis correspondence supplies the detail that the nurse was fetched in so great a hurry that she came "in her cloth petticoat and waistcoat and old shoes and no stockings; but she is

1688 now rigged by degrees (that the surprise may not alter her in her duty and care), £100 per annum is already settled upon her, and two or three hundred guineas already given, which she saith she knows not what to do with."

TERRIESI TO THE GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

"$\frac{13}{23}$ *August* 1688.

"I went three times to Court last week . . . and found the Marchioness of Powis well pleased that the Prince, thanks to a natural diet, for which she was always in favour, is so well restored. Their Majesties the King and Queen were equally content, but the chief physician, when I complimented him on the Prince's restoration, replied :—'*Your Lordship should not say restored to health, but somewhat improved in appearance.*' I hear they are storming their Majesties to send away the nurse and to return to the former diet, on the pretence that milk will be a sure viaticum to another world. It is incredible the quantity and the quality of stuffs the doctors have poured into that little body, thirty were counted at one time on the table in his room, among them Canary wine which he was made to drink and 'Dr. Goddard's Drops' (nothing less than liquid fire, for if one falls on a piece of cloth, it burns a hole through it in half an hour) and other violent remedies which are now the greatest danger to be feared."

Little Prince James must have had a strong constitution to survive such treatment, which throws a curious light upon the medical science of his day.

Most people, except the King himself, were now expecting the Prince of Orange. Evelyn notes in his Diary, August 10, 1688, "Dr. Tenison now told me there would suddenly be some greate thing discover'd. This was the Prince of Orange intending to come over." D'Avaux, the French Ambassador at the Hague, kept Louis XIV fully informed of the Prince's preparations, and Louis, in his turn, failed not to warn King James, and to offer him assistance. Skelton, the English Ambassador, was equally emphatic in his warnings, but the King, in what Seigneley, the French Minister, called a state of *léthargie surprenante*, turned a deaf ear, refused the offer of a

French fleet, which Louis sent Bonrepas on a special mission to propose to him, accepted the assurances of William and of Van Citters, the Dutch Ambassador, that the Dutch armament was intended against the King of Denmark, and refused to believe that a daughter, whom he tenderly loved, could conspire with her husband to dethrone her own father. His own account is interesting to remember :—" The Spanish Ambassador and the Earl of Sunderland found means to work the King rather into a displeasure at the proposal ; they remonstrated . . . that the French King's magnifying the Dutch preparations was but a contrivance to fright his Majesty into an Allyance with him ; so M. Bonrepas finding his master's kindness so ill accepted, return'd home again, no less astonished than the Court of France at His Majesty's surprizing security. . . . Besides the repeated assurances he had from the States by their Ambassador and others and even by the Prince of Orange himself that those preparations were not design'd against him, the Earl of Sunderland and some others, whom he trusted most, used all imaginable arguments to persuade the King it was impossible the Prince of Orange could go through with such an undertaking ; and particularly mylord Sunderland turn'd anyone into ridicule that did but seem to believe it. . . . No one, except mylord Dartmouth seem'd to give any credit to the report, and he, ever since the Duke of Monmouth's invasion always tould the King that sooner or later he was confident the Prince of Orange would attempt it."

1688

Memoirs of James II

Towards the middle of September the King's optimism began to be shaken by the continued news from abroad, and the defection at home. The Queen touchingly expresses her own bewilderment in a letter to the Princess of Orange :—

"WHITEHALL. *September* 28. 1688.

"I am much put to it what to say, at a time when nothing is talked of here but the Prince of Orange coming over with an army. This has been said a long time and believed by a great many, but I do protest to you I never did believe it till now very lately, that I have

1688 no possibility left of doubting it. The second part of this news I will never believe, that is that you are to come over with him ; for I know you to be too good, that I don't believe you could have such a thought against the worst of Fathers, much less perform it against the best, that has always been kind to you, and I believe has loved you better than all the rest of his children."

The persistent rumours of the Dutch invasion brought the Court back from Windsor to London sooner than had been intended, and Hoffmann describes the King's preparations for strengthening the army and navy and at the same time the dangerous state of both services :—" His soldiers are his most dangerous enemies. . . . A few weeks ago orders were given to the Duke of Berwick's regiment to admit three or four Irish recruits into each company, which the Lieutenant Colonel and five Captains absolutely refused . . . upon this they were imprisoned at Windsor and cashiered by Court Martial (after pardon had been offered if they would retract and they had refused it) ; almost immediately afterwards three lieutenants and four ensigns of the same regiment resigned their commissions and a large number of soldiers deserted. . . . If the King cannot depend upon these, still less can he count upon his seamen . . . who unblushingly declare they will not serve against Holland. . . . It is, therefore, allowable to say that the King has against him all the clergy, all the nobility, all the people and all the army and navy, with a few exceptions, which must necessarily keep him on the alert on every side."

Imp. Archives, Vienna

" Their Majesties show great intrepidity of soul," writes Ronchi, the Queen's chaplain, to the Duke of Modena, " and are cheerfully acting for the best in such an emergency. To-morrow the Queen's birthday will be kept with the usual festivities and there will be a Court Ball in the evening." This was Mary Beatrice's thirtieth birthday and was solemnised, says the Ellis correspondence, " with great joy, ringing of bells, etc.," but the same day the Queen writes the following short note to the Princess of Orange :—

"WHITEHALL. *October* 5th. 1688

"I don't well know what to say. Dissemble I cannot; and if I enter upon the subject that fills everybody's mind, I am afraid of saying too much; and therefore I think the best way is to say nothing."

HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR.

"*October* 8. 1688.

". . . The King is labouring night and day to prepare for this invasion; he holds Council upon Council, in one of them he exposed the great danger which threatens the Crown, it being no question of a Duke of Monmouth coming without troops, money or experience, but of a valiant and prudent prince commanding a brave army, wanting for nothing. . . . He prayed his Council to give him their advice and co-operation. . . . The sailors are flying and hiding themselves, so as not to be employed against their friends, as they call them, the Dutch. . . . Imp. Archives, Vienna

A declaration was published yesterday, revoking the dismissal of all those who had been deprived of office for refusing to agree to the abolition of the Test Act. . . . To-day the King has sent for the Bishops who were lately in the Tower, in order to conciliate them. God grant he is not making these efforts in vain, in which he goes from one extreme to the other, and loses reputation with his people (who attribute such a change not to repentance but to necessity) and that all may not end by increasing their arrogance and making the evil greater. . . .

What scandalises everybody, and especially the foreigners, is that not one of the great nobles is to be seen at Court, except those who are forced to it by their charges; all are in the country which is considered a very bad sign; there is no doubt that the Prince of Orange would not have embarked upon such an enterprise without being assured of the aid of some strong conspiracy here, and yet no signs of one have yet been discovered."

The Queen's birthday was the last to be kept with public rejoicings, and on the King's, October 14, there were, notes Evelyn, "no guns from the Tower as usual," and he continues:—"The sun eclips'd at its rising. This day signal for the victory of William the Conqueror against Harold. . . . The wind, which had been hitherto west, was east all this day.

1688 Wonderful expectation of the Dutch fleet. Public Prayers were order'd to be read in the Churches against invasion."

The next day the infant prince, who had been privately baptised immediately after his birth, received the full ceremonies of christening and naming—James Francis Edward—with much solemnity in the King's chapel, the Pope, represented by the Nuncio, being his godfather, and the Queen-Dowager his godmother. At a Drawing Room the following day the King tells Lord Clarendon "he had nothing by this post from the Princess of Orange, which was the first time he had missed hearing from her for a great while: he further said 'You will find the Prince of Orange a worse man than Cromwell.' In the evening I waited upon the Princess (Anne), told her most of what the King had said to me, and earnestly pressed her to speak to him, and to be a means of prevailing with him to hear some of his faithful old friends; but she would do nothing."

Clarendon's Diary

It was a delicate matter, in the seventeenth century, when religious differences were still so acute, for a Protestant prince to secure the benevolent neutrality of Austria and Spain and the quiescence of the Pope himself, while he made an armed attempt to coerce, if nothing more, a Catholic King at odds with his Protestant subjects, and who was not only at peace with those great Powers, but had repeatedly proved that he held himself bound to them by the terms of the Treaty of Nimeguen. William of Orange carried it through with consummately cool and mendacious dexterity. To the Pope he sent a Catholic gentleman of good repute, the Prince of Vaudemont, natural son of Charles IV, Duke of Lorraine, with a solemn assurance that he was going to England in peace and amity, and with no designs against the succession. His letter to the Emperor, which that monarch no doubt compared with Hoffmann's despatches, is still extant.

"The Hague. 26 *October*, 1688.

"Sire,

Imp. Archives, Vienna.

". . . *I have not the least intention of doing any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, nor to those who have the right to pretend to the succession of his*

kingdoms; and still less to encroach upon the Crown, or lay claim to it 1688
myself (encore moins d'empiéter moy-même sur la couronne, ou de vouloir me l'approprier) *I have no design to extirpate the Roman Catholics*, but only to employ my efforts to put an end to the disorders and irregularities which the evil counsels of the badly disposed have brought about against the laws of those kingdoms."

The King, among the daily concessions he was now hastily making, gave back the old Charter to the City of London, but the effect was not what he hoped :—"Besides the sinister interpretations given to these gracious concessions," writes Rizzini, "there is much murmuring against the Ministers and especially against Father Peter (*sic*); but the King remains constant to him, against the counsel of the Queen who has contributed to all that has been done so far in favour of the City, and who wishes to satisfy the people with respect to Father Peter (never protected by her) but without going further; but the point will be difficult to obtain.

"I represented to the Queen that in view of the King's departure, it would be indispensable that Her Majesty and her child should be placed in safety. Her Majesty deigned to tell me the King had cast his eyes upon Portsmouth, where there are some faithful [Irish] troops . . . but he had decided with the advice of his Council that they should not leave London until it was seen what turn events would take after the landing of the enemy. I insisted that they should not wait for such an extremity . . . the matter was discussed at length, and finally the Queen said we must believe the King thought of it more than any one else, and would judge for the best. . . . In case of departure, I shall follow in Her Majesty's suite."

The same day he writes to Prince Cesare d'Este, of the increasing hostility fomented amongst the people against the Queen :—"Inventing fresh calumnies daily, so extravagant and insane as only a madman would be capable of imagining. . . . One of the King's yachts has brought news from Holland that the Prince of Orange and the Princess his wife talk as if this crown were already on their heads, distributing places and

1688 offices, hinting that the greatest grace to be accorded the King will be to confine him to Ireland, the Queen to be sent back to Modena, but on condition that she restores the child to the woman from whom he was taken, and such like."

A memorial, said to have been written by Dr. Burnet and purporting to come from the English Protestants, was now presented to the Prince of Orange, and one of the chief grievances it complained of was the putting of a supposed prince upon the people. To meet this odious charge the King, inadvisedly according to some ("as below His Majesty to condescend to, on the talk of the people," writes Evelyn), determined to have a solemn declaration of the Prince's birth sworn to by the chief persons who had been present. The Queen was with difficulty persuaded to consent to such a proceeding, "till one day," writes her husband in his Memoirs, "at a visit she made the Princess Anne, speaking of those reports, the Queen said she wonder'd how such rideculous falsetys could gain the least credit, to which the Princess answer'd very coldly it was not so much to be wondered at, since such persons were not present as ought to have been there ; the Queen was hugely surprised at this and began as well as the King to suspect the worst, when his own Daughter, who knew so well the realitie of the Queen's being with child, fomented the contrary opinion."

An extraordinary Council was held October 22nd, and forty-two persons, including the Queen Dowager, the Lord Chancellor, etc., deposed on oath to having been present at the birth of the Prince of Wales. Lord Clarendon relates in his Diary his interviews with his niece, Princess Anne, after the Council :—". . . She made herself very merry with the whole affair. She was dressing and all her women about her, many of whom put in their jests. I was amazed at this behaviour and whispered to her Royal Highness that she would give me leave to speak with her in private. She said it grew late and she must make haste to be ready for prayers."

Lord Clarendon makes one or two ineffectual attempts to see her, and finally on October 31st, she asks him what he has to say. "I told her I was extremely surprised and troubled the other day to find Her Royal Highness speak so slightingly of the Prince of Wales's affairs and to suffer her women to make their jests upon it; she replied, surely I could not but hear the common rumours concerning him. I said that I did hear very strange rumours indeed, but that to me there seemed no colour for them. The Princess then said she could not say she believed them; but, she must needs say, the Queen's behaviour during her being with child was very odd, especially considering the reports that went abroad. . . . Possibly, said I, she did not mind the reports. 'I am sure,' she said, 'the King knew of them . . . he would speak of the idle stories of the Queen's not being with child, laughing at them. . . .' I begged her to consider what miseries these suppositions might entail upon the kingdom, even in case God should bless the King with other sons. I therefore humbly besought her to consider and do something that the world might see Her Royal Highness was satisfied. To all this she made no answer, but as I went away, she desired I would see her often. Strange!" 1688

Copies of the depositions were brought to the Princess by the whole Privy Council, who made an answer to this effect:—"My Lords, this was not necessary, for I have so much duty for the King that his word must be more to me than these depositions." "I was in the next room," writes Clarendon, "and when the Lords came out, I went in. The Princess was pleased to tell me the answer she gave as above; upon which I said I hope there remained no suspicion with Her Royal Highness. She made no answer. . . ." A few days later he returns to the charge. "I told her that endeavours were using for the Lords spiritual and temporal to join in an address to the King; that now it would be seasonable for Her Royal Highness to say something to the King, whereby he might see her concern for him; but she said the King did not care she should meddle with anything, and that the Papists would let

1688 him do nothing. I told her the King was her father; that she knew her duty to him; that he had been very kind and tender towards her, and had never given her any trouble about religion, as she had several times owned to me: to which she replied that was true; but she grew uneasy at the discourse and said she must dress herself."

The Prince of Orange heralded his departure for England by publishing two Declarations to the English and Scottish people, in which he described the despotism under which they groaned, the injuries offered to the Protestant Church and his suspicion of imposture in the birth of the young Prince.

"Ce qui est le plus fort," writes Hoffmann on the $\frac{2}{12}$ November, "is that he treats the Prince of Wales as a supposititious child. The moment approaches, as the wind still holds, when we shall see the beginning of this dangerous, and hitherto unheard-of enterprise. According to appearances, the King is stronger than the Prince of Orange, as he has an army of 25,000 men, all well seasoned troops, with which he is ready to march, and a fleet, I will not say equal to the enemy's, but strong and well conditioned, whilst the Prince of Orange has sick and tired troops and badly damaged cavalry [a great storm had driven the Dutch fleet back into port] especially if it be considered that the King will be on the defensive, and that all the fortresses worth garrisoning are in his hands. But it is doubtful whether the King's soldiers are as faithful as the Prince of Orange's, for all that the King has done so far, to be agreeable to his subjects and to overcome their aversion, has succeeded neither with the nobility nor with the people, the noblemen are all in the country persisting in their discontent, and the people desire the Prince of Orange more than they fear him.

"The King has so lost credit, that were he to do a great deal more than he has done to please the people, it would only aggravate the evil (it would have been different had he acted of his own accord, before the fear of invasion). Those who, at the King's accession, witnessed the docility, obedience and good-

will of this nation, especially at the time of Monmouth's Rebellion although the King was of a different religion, cannot hold it to blame for this dangerous crisis, but rather the feebleness of the Royal Council and the indiscreet zeal of those ecclesiastics who availed themselves of the King's religious fervour, and have brought him to this extremity." 1688

CHAPTER VIII

1688 EVENTS were now hurrying fast. On the 15th November Louis XIV sends word he has certain knowledge that the Prince of Orange is on his way to the Channel, and Terriesi writes the same day to the Grand Duke of Tuscany that the Dutch Fleet, some 300 sail, has passed by Dover "in the direction of the southern part of the island." Hoffmann also describes the passing of the Dutch Fleet before Dover "which lasted, owing to the great number of vessels, from 10 till 5 o'clock, and appeared to the spectators like a mighty forest. It passed by the Royal Fleet during a fog. No one knows yet where it will put in, but yesterday it was signalled off the Isle of Wight. Its destination may be Portland, Plymouth or Exeter (the King strongly inclines to believe it will be the latter port). On the other hand, news has arrived that a change of wind has allowed the Royal Fleet to come out, and at 2 o'clock yesterday it was seen off Deal in hot pursuit of the enemy; as it is not hampered with transports like the Dutch Fleet (which can only move slowly in consequence) the King hopes it may catch and engage the enemy before he can land, although he is some thirty leagues ahead. The King presumes the battle may take place to-day, the more so that the '*Pescatore di Milano*' [an almanack] announces a naval battle for this date."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO POPE INNOCENT XI. 1688

"15 *November* 1688.

". . . With most humble thanks, I acknowledge the paternal goodness of Your Holiness in willing that my son should be admitted to the sacred font of Baptism under your paternal and holy auspices. . . . [Ronchi has sent an account of the ceremony] And I place him once more at the feet of Your Holiness, already made yours by the recent title of spiritual adoption, that he may be protected by the Apostolic Benediction against the incursions of so many and so cruel enemies who at this very moment, arms in hand, are making public manifestation of destroying the Catholic religion in this kingdom and wresting the succession from this our heir. Vatican Archives

In this conspiracy of almost all the heretical world to whom can we more justly have recourse than to the refuge of the Holy See, to be defended with spiritual weapons at least, against so many infernal machinations and to obtain from the Divine Mercy a continuance of the good providence which has hitherto manifestly protected this Crown. And to this end I cast myself and my royal infant at the feet of Your Holiness."

The day this letter was written William of Orange landed at Torbay. "The Prince of Orange's actions," observes Sir Roger North, "through his whole life, if closely observed, will disclose a notable connection of his thoughts with the affairs of England, so early as the memorable and never-to-be-forgotten overthrow which the King, when Duke of York, gave the Dutch. They were, from that time, determined to ruin the Royal Family." And now began the grim tale of defection :— "My lord Lovelace, a malcontent," writes Hoffmann, November 26, "seeking to join the Prince with forty horse was attacked on his way by the Militia and taken prisoner after a skirmish in which some men fell on both sides ; this news is all the more important that doubts were felt as to the fidelity of the Militia."

The joy of the Court was soon destroyed by the news of Lord Cornbury's desertion with two regiments of cavalry and one of dragoons at Salisbury. "This news . . . has destroyed

1688 all hope of the King's success, and thrown his interests overboard. . . . All the regiments and artillery on march towards Salisbury have been recalled and the King's departure is deferred until next Monday."

When Lord Clarendon heard of the defection of his son, Lord Cornbury, he hastened to the King and Queen. "I said what I was able on so melancholy a subject and my son's desertion. God knows I was in confusion enough. The King was very gracious to me, and said he pitied me with all his heart. . . . I waited on the Queen. I expressed myself as well as I could upon the misfortune of my son's desertion, she was pleased to make me very gracious answers." The Queen, however, expressed her displeasure that he and his brother, Lord Rochester, had signed the petition presented to the King the day before his departure for Salisbury, praying that a free Parliament might be summoned at once (the writs summoning Parliament for the 27th November having been recalled on account of the Dutch invasion). James's reply, made with strong emotion, is worth remembering: "What you ask is what I passionately desire. I promise on the word of a king, to call a legal and free Parliament the moment the Prince of Orange shall depart. But how can you have a free Parliament now that a foreign Prince at the head of a foreign force has it in his power to return one hundred members?"

The alternations of hope and despair were rapid at Court. The news that the greater part of the three regiments had returned to their colours on discovering that Lord Cornbury was taking them to join and not to attack the enemy, "filled the Court, which yesterday was in despair, with joy," writes Hoffmann.

Ronchi writes less hopefully to the Duke of Modena the same day: "The peril is still most grave for his Majesty and for the Queen and Prince who are to remain at Whitehall under a guard of 6,000 of the newly-levied troops. There are riots in London against the Catholic chapels."

"The Nuncio d'Adda to the Card. Secretary of State. 1688

"London. 26 *Nov.* 1688.

"Mr. Caryll has informed me the Queen has sent orders that her lands at Monti [left to her by her mother] should be sold to help the King with the money . . . and Her Majesty lately told me (reflecting with much sense on the necessity in which the King may soon find himself) that she is giving him all she has. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS 15,397, f. 432

This evening the resolution has been taken by their Majesties to send the P of W to Portsth for his greater security, the Queen to remain here; she will be much afflicted at this double separation. The Prince starts to-morrow morning, and will be at Portsmouth in four days."

The mediation of England had been offered in the differences between France and the Holy See, and through her Secretary, John Caryll, the Queen writes to her uncle Cardinal d'Este on the subject.

"*November*, 1688.

"Uncle, I can give you the good news or the Pope's consent to the mediation of the King my lord in the differences between France and the Holy See, and I hope you will have the opportunity of distinguishing yourself by promoting a settlement so necessary for the good or Christendom. You may see by the extract from the letter of my-lord Thomas Howard which I enclose, the procedure of the affair up to the present, and a copy of the Pope's brief will be sent to you as soon as it arrives.

We hope the Most Christian King, who desired it in the beginning, will not be contrary to this mediation now that, after long resistance His Holiness has consented to it, though, to tell the truth, the various incidents which have occurred since its first proposal, have made great changes in the state of affairs. But, in the first place, God must bless the arms of the King to resist this invasion of the Prince of Orange, who has encamped himself with 14 to 15,000 men in a corner of the Kingdom waiting for some rising or the factious to strengthen his forces and enable him to give battle to the King.

When by the Grace of god this war, which cannot apparently last long, shall be happily ended, we can more freely apply ourselves to this mediation."

1688 Autograph postscript, in Italian, by the Queen. After telling him that Lord Thomas Howard has returned from Italy, and has seen her, she continues :—

"But, dear Uncle, we have too many affairs of our own at present, to think of others; if you only knew the grief of my poor heart, I think you would weep with compassion. The King left the day before yesterday for the army, and my son for Portsmouth, a fortress sixty miles from here, the King not venturing to leave him in this town; think of what a separation for me! In charity remember me in your prayers, and ask God to give me strength to suffer what seems insufferable to human nature, but which Divine grace can make bearable.

I caused this letter to be written by my Catholic secretary fearing I might not be able to write myself, he has my entire confidence, and when I cannot write, I shall make him do so."

HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR.

"29 *November* 1688.

Imp. Archives, Vienna

". . . The King has left the government in the hands of five Councillors of State under the presidency of the Queen—the Chancellor, the Lord Keeper Arundel, the Secretary of State, Lord Preston, the Lords Bellasys and Godolphin." [The King satisfied at last of Sunderland's bad faith had dismissed him from office at the end of October] "Many persons blame the King for not lending himself to some amicable arrangement, instead of risking all on the chances of a battle, which, should he win it, will not prevent him from having to satisfy a discontented country, and the loss of which, if it does not cost him his throne, may exclude the Prince of Wales entirely from the succession. But he always has the misfortune to choose the worst of two evils, to which he is urged by the advice of France . . . who does not wish to have to fight the united forces of England and Holland, and is averse to all conciliation."

It must not be forgotten that Austria and France were now at war, and if it might suit the policy of the latter country, that the Dutch forces and James should be occupied upon English soil, it might be equally desirable for the Emperor Leopold that James should be incapable of throwing the weight

of his sword into the struggle now going on between himself and Louis XIV. 1688

Hoffmann concludes by asking for an equipment to follow the King to camp so as to get reliable news : " for each party here will be informed of what is favourable to itself, which will give rise to a thousand fables ; moreover if the Queen remains here, nothing disagreeable will be allowed to reach her ears, but only what will be considered expedient.

" The Prince of Orange is still at Exeter, where many persons are joining him . . . mylord Abingdon, one of the wealthiest of the nobility and other men of quality. It is difficult to understand how the King and the Prince are to come to blows with this frost and snow, as their general quarters, Salisbury and Exeter, are eighty miles apart . . . It is to the Prince's interest to temporise, in order to give his partisans time to assemble. . . . Mylord Delamere is said to be raising the county of Chester (*sic*)."

" London. 3 *December* 1688.

". . . The King arrived at Salisbury last Monday . . . he learned with pleasure that the officers showed great eagerness to be led against the enemy. On Tuesday he intended to go to Warmynster, about 15 miles from Salisbury to visit one of the furthest outposts, but a violent bleeding of the nose, attributed to the great fatigues he has imposed upon himself, seized him, and could only be stopped by bleeding His Majesty. . . . The King is coming back from Salisbury and will go backwards and forwards until it is seen what the Prince of Orange means to do. Imp. Archives, Vienna

Mylord Delamere is not alone, the Lords Devonshire, Lumley, Scarsdale, Cholmondeley, Stamford and others, have assembled and called upon the people to join them, under the pretence of saving the Protestant religion and their liberties, and for a free Parliament, which is nothing less than collusion with the Prince of Orange.

It is nevertheless true that they declare themselves against all those who would attack the Crown or alter the succession, which proves that they are with the Prince in all that concerns their religion and liberties, but that if his ambition directs itself against the Crown or the succession they are resolved to oppose him. . . . This town has not stirred yet, but lets it be clearly seen that the Prince of Orange's success would not be displeasing to it."

1688 The Queen's position was becoming one of positive danger, and the Nuncio in a letter of the $\frac{23\ \text{Nov.}}{3\ \text{Dec.}}$ to the Cardinal Secretary of State relates how a revolutionary pamphlet had been found in the Queen's glove :—"I could not refrain from suggesting to Her Majesty the necessity of greater precaution, and the danger arising from her excessive goodness and confidence, especially in such perilous times, which may be the result in some measure of the too great confidence of their Majesties, who have credited every one with their own probity and candour."

HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR.

"$\frac{29\ \textit{Nov.}}{9\ \textit{Dec.}}$ 1688.

Imp Archives, Vienna

"Not only is the King coming back to-night, but his whole army is on the march hither since the day before yesterday. The reason of this prompt retreat is that all the southern counties are in revolt, the towns being seized, as certain Lords have seized upon York; the governors, justices of the peace, and adherents of the King thrown into prison; things are so advanced that there is not, so to speak, a single Peer of the realm who has not declared for the movement, if not by taking up arms, at least by declaring his opinion. . .

Before leaving Salisbury the King had to hear of a still greater treason, the evening before Mylord Churchill, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, the Duke of Grafton, Vice-Admiral and Colonel of the Guards, Colonel Berkeley, four captains and some others, had passed to the Prince of Orange. The first report had it that the whole Brigade of 6 to 7000 men under Churchill's command had gone over to the enemy, but a letter from the King to the Queen says that the Brigade has returned to him, and the desertion has been confined to the above-named, less than forty in number. . . .

The treachery of that Churchill (to say nothing of the Duke of Grafton, who pretends to have been injured by the command of the fleet having been given to Lord Dartmouth) has been the object of universal reprobation, for Churchill owed everything to the King, who, raising him from the dirt, made him not only one of the four Captains of his Guard, but Lieutenant-General, to the scandal of everybody, as he was considered as the least worthy of such a post. But this country is fertile in such anomalies. . . . If the King hopes

the troops will be more faithful than their officers, he will be counting upon a people constant but in inconstancy. As to expecting succour from France, it is too late. . . . The King will therefore, whether he will or no, be obliged to accept the proposal of the Lords and call a Parliament as the only, but dangerous, means of escape; unfortunately he always has the air of waiting to be forced to a thing instead of doing it with a good grace. . . . 1688

The great difficulty will be regarding the Prince of Wales, for the Peers contend that he shall be brought up in the Protestant religion . . . they will not yield the point, and it will be fortunate if they do not attack the King in the exercise of his religion. And if the King, according to the prevalent rumour, were to make the mistake of removing the Prince of Wales from Portsmouth to France, it might very well happen that the English nation would declare him a supposititious child, although it knows the contrary and, to revenge itself upon his father, drive him from the throne; the King would do well to reflect on this. . . .

According to all appearances this affair will be terminated in two or three months, and equally certainly *all the forces now on foot will march conjointly against France. . . . Your Imperial Majesty may take this for certain, and act accordingly.*"

Hoffmann's prognostications were correct. William declared war against France the following May.

"Such, most Gracious Lord, was the situation in which I left the Court last night; this morning on my return I heard with consternation that not only the Prince of Denmark, with the Duke of Ormonde and several others had gone over to the Prince of Orange, but that last night the Princess of Denmark, the King's daughter, after receiving a letter from the Prince her husband, went away with her lady of honour, lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley (whose husbands had deserted); after having on pretence of going to bed dismissed her women, she escaped from the house by a secret staircase."

It was at first rumoured that the Princess had been "violently carried away" and her partisans tried to cast suspicion upon the Queen, who calmly replied that the Princess would doubtless send word where she had gone when she thought proper to do so.

Hoffmann ends the above letter with the grave accusation :— "Those men [Churchill and his accomplices], it has been learned,

1688 did not limit their treachery to defection, but sought to deliver the King to the Prince of Orange ; that was the project Lord Churchill had in view when, on various pretexts, he persuaded the King to go to Warmynster, where an ambush of the enemy awaited him ; but, a singular proof that God watches over him, the extraordinary bleeding of the nose which seized him [lasting three days] and which it was almost impossible to arrest, leaving him so exhausted that he kept his room until his departure for London, caused that treason to miscarry, and moreover, singularly agrees with the prediction in the *Pescatore di Milano* for this moon :—' Let the sovereign of a great island beware of the treachery of his courtiers.'

" Father Petre, who, by his violence, contributed a good share to all these misfortunes, retired into France seven or eight days ago."

RIZZINI TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"6 *Dec.* 1688.

". . . The priests and friars have spoiled everything here, and their inopportune zeal has attracted implacable hatred upon the innocent Queen, and great accusations are being prepar'd against her in the coming Parliament.

I am conscious of having done my duty thus far. I was one of the first to speak out boldly, and all the more so when I saw everybody hesitating between good and bad advice. I took the side of the greatest prudence . . . . and I hope by constant perseverance to win in the end.

P.S. (in cypher) The miserable state of affairs has forced me to urge with tears that the Queen and the Prince of Wales be placed in safety. The King has assured me he will see to it. It would take too long to give all my reasons, suffice it to say that Parliament will be full of plotters, rebels and traitors, so that unless God interferes the King himself will have to seek safety in flight."

Rizzini was a timid man, and in his love for the Princess he had known from a child, and his sense of duty to the house he served, had but one idea, that of getting the Queen and her child safely out of England. Terriesi, as we see by the following letter to the Tuscan Secretary of State, was of a different

opinion. After expressing his compassion for the misfortunes of the King and Queen, he writes :— 1688

"*Dec.* 10.

". . . When I went to the audience, I found the Queen's confessor and the Modenese Envoy [Rizzini] in the greatest excitement, urging that Her Majesty and the Prince of Wales should fly to France, and as for all they could do, they failed to convince either the King or the Queen, they tried to employ me to persuade Their Majesties. But they were much surprised when I replied, that not only I would not do so, but that I entreated them to refrain, as nothing they could imagine would more conduce to the ruin of their Majesties ; that before suggesting such a course it would be well to be thoroughly informed of the state of the country, and of the mind of the Prince of Orange and of the English ; that to leave one's kingdom was never done until the last extremity, or only by those whose cowardice did not deserve one ; that I could not see the case to be so desperate. . . . I could not believe the English wished to change their legitimate King for a foreigner. . . . I finally begged them to consider how difficult it would be for His Majesty to come to terms with his subjects if the Queen and the heir to the Crown were in France, whence the people believed so many miseries have come upon them."

The same day Hoffmann tells the Emperor :—

"Parliament is convoked for the $\frac{15}{25}$ January, and as in the mean time it is necessary to prevent the advance of the Prince of Orange, the Lords Halifax, Nottingham and Godolphin are to be sent to him with this object, and a trumpeter has been despatched to the prince to ask for a safe-conduct. Imp. Archives, Vienna

It remains to be seen if the Prince will consent, or if he will seek to profit by the occasion to seize the crown, (which, however, is not believed by his partisans)."

The misfortunes pressing upon the King, the weakness occasioned by the terrible hæmorrhage at Salisbury, and above all the conduct of his daughter ("He was so deeply afflicted when the Princess Anne went away that it disordered him in his understanding," one of the Court ladies present at the time told Sir John Reresby), the fear also that his son might be forcibly taken from him, at last induced King James to yield to the advice of those who urged him to send the child to France.

1688 JAMES II TO LORD DARTMOUTH

"WHITEHALL $\frac{5}{15}$ *Dec.*

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 13,447, f. 75 B

"I think my son is not safe as things are now, where he is, and therefore think it necessary to have him removed from thence as soon as may be; I have written to Lady Powis to that purpose, if the way be open by land, he shall come that way, and I have sent troops to meet him, and ordered Lord Dover [Governor of Portsmouth] to command them, and come up with him. If the Prince of Orange's Troops get between this and Portsmouth, then he must come by Sea, and in a Yacht, and you must send what number of Ships you judge sufficient to see him as far as Margate, after which he may come over the flats, and so up the River without Danger; you must be sure to let him take the first fair wind, for then there can be no danger of Herbert and his Dutch Ships. I must leave the care of ordering this to you. . . . This bearer will tell you all the news."

Of Lord Dartmouth's loyalty there can be no question, but the "associated" officers representing to him the evils that would befall, if the heir-apparent left the kingdom, and his own consternation, led him to refuse in humble and affectionate terms to obey the King's orders to send him by sea, which it would probably have been impossible for him to carry out.

Next day Rizzini is able to announce that his prayers have been heard, and the flight of the Queen and the Prince of Wales decided upon. "I am in agonies, as each day of delay increases the peril. In a word, the King of England is abandoned by all, and near to being oppressed. . . .

"The most notable event here has been a proclamation by the Prince of Orange, ordering all Catholics, under the severest penalties, to lay down their arms and give up any posts they may hold. He is acting the king entirely."

THE NUNCIO D'ADDA TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 15,397, f. 495

". . . Her Majesty informed me that the Prince of Wales had not left Portsmouth, and on my asking the reason, answered:—'Because the King has not been obey'd.' . . . His Majesty has sent orders in utmost haste to bring the Prince by land, and has sent two regiments of Cavalry under Catholic Colonels to meet him; it is supposed

he has left to-day and news is anxiously expected. The Queen also told me the plan concerted for her departure with Signora Vittoria Davia, a Bolognese lately arrived here at Her Majesty's invitation, an Italian lady in waiting, and a certain Riva, also a Bolognese, keeper of her Wardrobe, the Comte de Lauzun, to whom the King has confided the care of Her Majesty, will also attend her on her journey. Her Majesty said that as soon as the Prince of Wales arrives it will be determined if they shall go separately or together, or even with the King, who is waiting for the answer of the Commissioners [sent to the Prince of Orange], which may come to-morrow, before resolving upon what he shall do. At this moment the Queen Dowager was announced, and Her Majesty going to receive her, I took my leave." 1688

The Countess Vittoria Davia was the sister of Count Montecuccoli and one of the friends of Mary Beatrice's childhood. She had spent some time in Scotland with her when Duchess of York, and now hastened to the Queen in response to her summons and was to prove herself one of her most faithful and devoted servants. The gallant magnificent Lauzun, out of favour with Louis XIV through the enmity of Louvois, had solicited and obtained permission to offer his services to the English Queen, and had arrived in London in October, on a feat of knight-errantry suited to his character, and by which he hoped to recover the good graces of his own sovereign. Francesco Riva, who it may be remembered had accompanied the painter Gennari to England in the reign of Charles II, had been appointed Wardrobe Keeper to the Queen upon her accession, and to his pen we owe the following graphic account of her flight from England. He wrote two copies, one in Italian, dedicated "to his dear father and mother," preserved in the Archives of Modena, and the other in French.

"... *Sunday evening,* $\frac{2}{12}$ *December.*

"Labadie, the King's valet, fetched me to His Majesty's apartment. He was alone and did me the honour to say he had a secret to confide to me. I asked if it was known to others? His Majesty said 'Yes, to the Queen and the Comte de Lauzun,' so I respectfully bent my head in token of absolute submission to his orders. Then he told

1688 me he intended the Queen should cross the sea the following Tuesday . . . while the Prince of Wales would start the same day from Portsmouth. 'Come to-night, and settle matters with the Comte de Lauzun.' . . . On Monday the bad news arrived that the Prince of Wales could not start from Portsmouth . . . so all the plans were changed and Tuesday and Wednesday messengers were kept going from London to Portsmouth. . . . Meanwhile I hired two Yachts, one in the name of an Italian lady, and the other in that of the Comte de Lauzun. . . . On Thursday the King ordered me to take three carriages and meet the Prince of Wales, which I did the same night, sending the carriages by different routes to avoid suspicion. I arrived at Gifford on Friday night, where I found Lord Salisbury's Regiment. I spent the night there and met the Prince the next day. We immediately started to return to London, the Prince escorted by the above-named regiment, by one of Dragoons and another of the King's Guards. . . . We arrived on Saturday at three o'clock in the night at Whitehall. . . . News had meanwhile arrived of the disorders at Dover, where the people had revolted, so other measures had to be taken as follows:—About an hour after midnight, having put on a rough sailor suit, and having stored away my furniture and effects (which were pillaged afterwards at Whitehall) I armed myself and went by the secret stair to the King's Chamber; I laid down the common habit I had had made for the Queen, and told His Majesty all was ready. Then I retired to another room, where was the Comte de Lauzun, and waited until the Queen was ready."

According to Terriesi, the Queen threw herself into the King's arms, imploring him to let her stay and share his fate, "but letting herself be persuaded of the necessity of escaping from those rebels and traitors and of saving the Prince of Wales, she dressed herself in the disguise."

Riva continues:—

"Then the Count and I, to be prepared against accidents, secreted some jewels about us, which their Majesties opposed at first, having no thought but for the safety of their royal infant. At 2 o'clock we went down to Madame Labadie's quarters, where the Prince of Wales had been secretly conveyed. There all the persons were assembled who were to serve the Queen and Prince, viz.: the Comte de Lauzun, the two nurses and myself. We went by the great Gallery and the private garden, at the door of which was waiting the carriage of

Count Terriesi, Florentine resident, and my particular friend, from whom I had borrowed it for my own special service. On the way we had to pass six sentries, who all cried 'Who goes there?' but as I answered 'Friend,' and they saw I had the master-key, they made no further parley. The Queen, the Prince, the two nurses and the Count got into the carriage, and I, to make sure the coachman took us aright, got up beside him. We passed safely through Westminster to Horseferye, where I had engaged a boat. The boatman was accustomed to take me out shooting at night, and I had made him come the previous day to fetch bread, wine, roast meat and other necessaries, also my gun, to give colour to my pretended project. We got in, but the night was so dark we could not see each other, although we were close together, the boat being very small. Then, I confess, I was seized with great terror, at the thought of these royal personages exposed to such danger, but I took courage and trusted in God whose providence singularly watched over us, especially in causing an infant of five months old, so delicate and lively, never to open his mouth. 1688

After the crossing, which a violent wind and heavy rain rendered difficult, I called out 'M. Duforous' [Dufour, a Page of the Back-stairs, who was waiting with a coach and six]. He answered at once that the carriage was at the inn, so I went forward to hasten the coachman. . . . Meanwhile Her Majesty and her companions stood by the wall of a church, exposed to the wind and cold, though the rain had ceased. There was a man at the inn who, seeing me at such an hour and somewhat in haste, came out lantern in hand and observed the carriage. . . . I watched him, and seeing he was going in the direction of the Queen, I followed him swiftly on the other side of the road. . . . When I saw him approach her, I made as if to cross the road and pushed him so adroitly that we both fell to the ground. Being both of us in the mud, we made so many mutual apologies that he went back to the inn, without getting out of temper, to brush himself, and I to meet the carriage. The Queen got in, and the Page, who was to have gone back as he was not in the secret, having recognised the Queen, our mistress, insisted upon following her.

As we left the town we met several patrols, one of which cried :— 'Let us go and see, surely that is a coach-full of Papists,' but God willed that they changed their minds, and no one approached us. About three miles away we met Mr. Leyburn, King's Equerry, with a led horse and boots for me, which the King in his goodness had

1688 sent expressly. . . . I was in rather a sorry state from my fall, the mud and the rain. . . . At Gravesend we found three Irish Captains sent by the King, who were to serve on the Yacht . . . they had a boat in readiness. Her Majesty entered it with her suite, and made for the yacht, on board which were awaiting her the Duchess [Marchioness] of Powis, governess of the Prince of Wales, the Countess Vittoria Montecuccoli [Davia], Lady Strickland, Madame Turini, the Duke [Marquis] of Powis, Father Giudici, confessor, Sir William Waldegrave, chief physician to the Prince of Wales, Mr. Sheldon, the Marquis of Montecuccoli, Dufour the Page, M. Gutteri, a Frenchman, and myself. Sail was set at once, the wind being favourable."

Other documents show that there were a few other persons on board the yacht, which had been hired in the name of the Countess Vittoria. Lauzun had brought with him from France the Chevalier de St. Victor, who was now sent off to the King with news of the safe embarkation of his wife and child. To avert suspicion the Countess hailed the Queen as sister and reproached her for arriving late, and Lauzun kept the Captain busy, telling him the political news until the Queen was well on board, and then gave him 200 guineas, begging him to land his Catholic friends and their wives in France. The Captain not only consented, but passed the English fleet without firing the usual salute. When in sight of the coast of France, he told Lauzun he had recognised the Queen and was only too happy to serve her.

"The weather was so bad," continues Riva, "that the Captain cast anchor at night, for fear of being thrown on to the French coast, until 4 o'clock in the morning of Tuesday $\frac{11}{21}$ Dec., Feast of St. Thomas, and towards 9 o'clock we arrived at Calais, glad to set foot on land.

"Her Majesty, who did not wish to make herself known until the King's arrival, retired to a private house, which did not prevent the Governor from paying her all manner of service. The King not arriving, Her Majesty determined to go to Boulogne, where the Duc d'Aumont treated her with great magnificence."

Riva's MS. is endorsed by the Nuns of Chaillot as having been given into their hands by him and approved by the Queen as the only true account of her escape. An anonymous account preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris says :—"The Queen asked to be lodged in the Ursuline Convent at Boulogne, but the Duc d'Aumont having prepared his wife the Duchess's apartment for her, she could not refuse it; the Prince of Wales was lodged in the Duke's. Whatever mortal anxieties this princess suffered, Her Majesty's countenance was always calm, and if sadness appeared upon it, it was mingled with greatness. . . . . She let herself be but rarely seen; people went to the Prince of Wales's in her absence, but she was there five or six times a day and desired to be alone. On Christmas Eve she heard three Masses after midnight in the Castle chapel. . . . . On St. Stephen's Day she went to the sermon at the Cathedral, attended by the Duc d'Aumont and the Comte de Lauzun. . . . ." 1688

Immediately upon her arrival at Calais, Mary Beatrice addressed the following well-known letter to Louis XIV. It is different from her usual style, and raises a doubt whether, except the last sentence, it may not have been the composition of some other person.

> "SIRE, a poor fugitive Queen, bathed in tears, has not reared to brave the perils of the sea, to seek consolation and refuge from the greatest king and most generous monarch in the world. Her ill-fortune has procured her a happiness which the most distant nations have ambitioned. Necessity does not lessen it; since she has made the choice and with singular esteem desires to confide to him her most precious possession in the person of her son, the Prince of Wales, who is as yet too young to share her gratitude. It lies entirely in my heart, and it is a pleasure to me, in the midst of all my grief, to come under the shadow of your protection.
>
> Sire, your very affectionate servant and sister
>
> THE QUEEN of ENGLAND."

James had promised to follow the Queen within twenty-four hours, and his arrest at Feversham and subsequent imprisonment

1688 caused a delay which filled his wife with anguish. She writes from Boulogne, 27 December, to the Duke of Modena :—

"Dear Brother,

You will be astounded to hear that I am in this country, and the manner of my coming. Having fled by night with my child, with a frightful but favourable wind, we arrived in little more than twenty-four hours from London to Calais, whence I came to this place, and I am in indescribable anxiety at hearing nothing from the King since my departure just a week ago. He told me he would leave the day after me, but all the Ports are closed, so I can neither see him nor have news of him, as no letters are allowed to pass ; you can imagine in what a state I am, and I am sure if you could see me you would pity me ; my only consolation is that my son is well, and thrives amid all these troubles ; he alone is happy for he does not know his misfortunes nor to what a condition he is reduced, and has reduced his parents. Pray God for me, dear brother, that He may give me patience, because without His signal help, I think I should lose my senses (*impazzarei*).

I am entreated by all to go to Paris, and speak to the King of France, from whom I am certainly receiving a thousand benefits ; but I am resolved not to leave the coast until I have news of my king. I have very few with me, and no one in my confidence except Donna Vittoria whom I brought alone with Pellegrina [Turini]. M. Rangoni and Abbé Rizzini must have been stopped, otherwise I am sure they would be here ; I have no news of M. Cattaneo, but I hope he is in Paris, and I thank you a thousand times for having sent him back to me ; what a great consolation it would be to have you beside me in so hard a trial, but I have desired it so often without being able to obtain it, that I dare not hope for it now !

Dear brother, pity me, counsel me, and with your affection console your poor afflicted sister, who, in whatever condition she may be will always love you with her whole heart."

Two days later Mary Beatrice heard of the King's arrest, "which had been kept from her," writes Riva. Three gentlemen [one of whom was Vice-Admiral Strickland] arriving from England, the Queen insisted so strongly to know how they had left the King that at last they exclaimed, "Sacred Majesty, he

is taken!" "I was present," continues Riva, "and I could not tell you which touched me the most, to hear such melancholy tidings, or to see the Queen, my mistress, in such deep affliction." 1689

The Queen's one desire was now to rejoin her husband, and the Duc d'Aumont, Lauzun and Beringhen, Louis XIV's envoy, had great difficulty in persuading her to remain in France. There are two letters from Louvois which throw a curious light upon the French king's policy, and show that Mary Beatrice, though happily for her she did not know it, was practically a captive in his hands.

LOUVOIS TO M. BERINGHEN,

"VERSAILLES, *Jan.* 1, 1689.

"The Duc d'Aumont's equerry handed me your note and a letter from the Comte de Lauzun as I left the King's Mass, . . . upon which His Majesty commanded me to tell you that even if the King of England were to write to the Queen to return, either alone or with the Prince of Wales, to England (which His Majesty sees no assurance of), his intention would still be that you bring the Queen and the Prince of Wales to Vincennes, giving the Queen to understand that having the King's commands to conduct her thither, you have not the liberty to delay on the road, still less to choose any other but that to Vincennes, and that you cannot doubt but that she will be very content to arrive there, to see the King, and concert with him as to the necessary measures for helping the King her husband in his present condition." Ministère de la Guerre

LOUVOIS TO THE COMTE DE LAUZUN.

"VERSAILLES, 1 *January*, 1689.

"I received the letter you did me the honour to write to me, at eight o'clock this morning. The King cannot believe that anything could induce the King of England to write to the Queen to return to England, either alone or with the Prince of Wales; but if contrary to all appearances this should happen, His Majesty has commanded me to let you know that his intention is that you should bring the Queen and the Prince of Wales to Vincennes under all the fair pretexts you can imagine—*par tous les pretextes les plus honnestes que vous pouvez vous imaginer.*"

1688 In giving the Emperor the news of the Queen's flight, Hoffmann had written :—"Will her destination be France or Flanders?" And had given it as his opinion that if she went to France it might cost her son his crown, which might not be the case if she chose Flanders.

The joy of the population at the King's return after his first attempted escape, making his passage through London a veritable triumph, seems to have raised doubts in his mind as to the wisdom of evasion; "but," as Hoffmann bluntly put it, "whether he goes or stays, he will never be but the shadow of a king;—to this pass have his weakness, his imprudent zeal for religion, and his credulity brought him; and if ever there was a prince surrounded by foolish, inexperienced, rash, and corrupt advisers, it has surely been he."

HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR.

"LONDON 27 *Dec.* 1688.

Imp. Archives, Vienna

"At this moment, 10 o'clock at night, I can see the regiment of the Prince's foot-guards defiling in the Park to relieve the Royal Guard at St. James's; they will also relieve that at Whitehall, and replace it definitely. Further, the Prince has appointed other quarters, outside the town, for each of the royal regiments here, constraining them to their great regret to obey his order, without making the slightest observation; no troops therefore will remain in London, except the Prince's.

If, after all this, the king is not a prisoner, at all events there is no difference between a prisoner and he. He is displaying a calmer spirit than before, and while attributing all his misfortune to the nation, which has abandoned him and treated him so unworthily, he remits all things to Almighty God."

The arrest of Lord Feversham, James's messenger, by the Prince of Orange (stigmatised by Hoffmann as an outrage) must have removed any doubts which may have lingered in the King's mind as to that prince's intentions, which his own arrest and imprisonment confirmed. His escape from Rochester was happily effected, and to the great joy of the Queen she received news of his arrival, January 4, at Ambleteuse, a small port

about six miles from Boulogne. "When the Queen was told the King was in France," writes the anonymous writer above quoted, "she exclaimed, without thinking of the loss of three kingdoms—'My God, I am the happiest woman in the world!'" 1689

The Queen, under the pressure of Louis XIV's envoys, was on her reluctant way to Paris when the glad news of her husband's escape reached her at Beaumont.

THE DUC D'AUMONT (*Governor of Boulogne*) TO LOUVOIS.

"BOULOGNE, *January* 5, 1689.

"The King of England left this morning in my post-chaise after spending the whole of yesterday here. He spoke a great deal of the infidelity of his subjects, and especially of Lord Churchill, upon which he enlarged with such extraordinary circumstances as can hardly be believed. He did not forget that of the Earl of Sunderland and several other lords whom he had loaded with benefits and honours. . . .

The ease with which he escaped the second time leads me to think that the Prince of Orange shut his eyes to his evasion, for it is to be noted that of the sixty [Dutch] horse which guarded him at Rochester, the lieutenant, quarter-master, two corporals, and forty-five men were Catholics, and attended Mass each morning in the King's chapel. . . ."

If Mary Beatrice ardently desired her brother's presence in this time of misfortune, the young Duke was none the less anxious to fly to her, as the following letter to his uncle, Cardinal d'Este, testifies. After announcing in terms of dismay that the King of England has been forced to call a free Parliament, "which as the prudence of Your Eminence will recognise can bring him nothing but peril and disadvantage," and that the Queen and Prince of Wales have flown to Calais, he continues :—

"The thought that the Queen and the royal infant are in safety is no small relief to the infinite grief and agitation of my mind. Prompted by the impulse of the tenderest love, of obligation and

1689 propriety, I feel compelled in such circumstances to assist and serve the Queen in person ; I am resolved to start at once, incognito, and with as small a suite as possible. . . . As I mean to leave with all secrecy, I pray Your Eminence to keep the news to yourself for the present, confiding it to no one except to the Holy Father, and begging him in my name to honour me with his commands. . . . and to accompany me on my journey with his holy and paternal benediction. . . .

Your Eminence's most affectionate servant and nephew,
FRANCESCO D'ESTE."

His uncle's remonstrances and his own state of health, already undermined by the disease which was to end his life a few years later, prevented the Duke from executing a project which would have filled his sister's affectionate heart with pleasure.

If Louis XIV had laid invisible, though none the less infrangible, bonds about Mary Beatrice's freedom of action, he at the same time loaded her with honour ; her progress to Paris was splendidly regulated, and he met her himself at Chatou with his whole Court in a hundred carriages, waiting five hours for her arrival there, and conducted her to St. Germains, instead of to Vincennes, as he had first intended. An anonymous pamphlet, preserved in the Archives of the Affaires Étrangères, written probably by some gentleman in the King's suite, mentions one or two details not to be found elsewhere, notably that on the Queen's arrival at Boulogne not only did she find a magnificent wardrobe provided by Louis XIV, but several presents from her old enemy, the Duchess of Portsmouth,[1] and that the moment James II landed at Ambleteuse "he prostrated himself and returned thanks to God, and then asked for a bed that he might take a little rest."

James arrived at St. Germains the day after the Queen. "He came late," writes Madame de Sévigné, "as he had been first to Versailles [not knowing that Louis XIV had gone to

[1] Dangeau notes in his Journal :—"6 Jan. 1689. Madame de Portsmouth wished to go to the Queen, but M. de Lauzun sent her word, she would receive no-one until she was at St. Germains. . . . 10 Jan. The Queen received Madame de Portsmouth and made her sit down."

St. Germains to receive him] the King went to the end of the guardroom to meet him; the King of England bowed very low, as if to embrace his knees; the King prevented him, and embraced him four or five times very cordially . . . he then led him to the Queen's apartment, who had much ado to restrain her tears. . . . The King sent 10,000 louis d'or to the King of England. He looks old and tired; the Queen is thin, with eyes that have wept much, but black and beautiful; a fine complexion, rather pale; a large mouth and beautiful teeth; a handsome figure and plenty of spirit; *une personne composée* and very pleasing." 1689

We have seen in Mary Beatrice's letter to her brother that but for the help of God she feared the greatness of her afflictions might bereave her of her senses; no stronger proof of the valiant self-control she exerted over herself could be furnished than by the following account from the pen of Countess Vittoria Montecuccoli Davia, the companion of her flight, and the only person in her confidence, as she had herself described her. It is addressed to the Duke of Modena, and dated Versailles, 7 January, 1689.

". . . The Queen has betrayed no regret at having left her kingdom and all the rest; she lamented sorely over her separation from the King, whom she longed to see' in safety; now I fancy she may think a little about the rest. At any rate her virtue is great, and I hope God in his goodness will soon restore their Majesties to their kingdom. . . . I offer my congratulations to your most Serene Highness, assuring you you have a Queen for sister who is the admiration of everyone. . . . The King [of France] shows her the greatest esteem, and after providing her with everything [including a splendid silver toilette service], has sent her a casket containing 6,000 louis d'or."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"ST. GERMAINS, 12 *January* 1689.

"DEAR BROTHER,

If I tried to tell you all that has happened to me and to the King since our departure, I would write a volume rather than a

1689 letter; I shall content myself with telling you the most important part, which is our safe arrival in this place. My son and I arrived on the 6th and the King on the 7th, after having caused me to shed many tears and not without reason; but thank God, we are in safety and receive a thousand kindnesses from this King.

The state of our affairs in England is miserable; may it please God to change it, and to give us patience meanwhile.

I do not know what has become of poor Rizzini, and I have no news of Marquis Cattaneo."

CHAPTER IX

THE life of Queen Mary Beatrice had but half run its course 1689
when she left England. For thirty years she was to eat of the tearful bread of exile, the pensioner on the bounty of a foreign king, and engaged in a perpetual state of alternating hopes and fears, of baffled efforts to restore her husband and her son to their inheritance. To the Stuarts and their adherents, their cause was the cause of right against wrong, of legitimacy against usurpation, the cause of Heaven itself, and the Queen would have held it a kind of defection, a lack of confidence in Providence, if she had ever faltered in the unequal struggle which ended with her life. But the womanliness of character which had made her declare herself the happiest woman in the world at the news of her husband's safety, caused her to taste to the full the domestic joys which had been embittered to her in the days of her splendour. Her children had been born but to die, and the King's infidelities had during the past ten years made a passionate jealousy enter deeply into her love for him. She was never again to be a childless woman, and henceforward James's virtue was to be equal to her own. These were the compensations of her exile, to which may be added the satisfaction of finding at Chaillot, near Paris, a Convent of the Order of the Visitation, which in her youth she had so ardently desired to join, and which was now to offer her a haven of peace and rest whenever she could escape from the Courts of St. Germains and Versailles.

James II arrived in France a broken-hearted and broken

1689 spirited man. Hoffmann described him after the return from Salisbury as "unrecognisable," and there seems little doubt but that a feeling of duty to his son, and perhaps his wife's remonstrances, alone prevented him from resignedly accepting the loss of his kingdoms. He was a hundred and fifty years in advance of his generation in his love of toleration and liberty of conscience, and he would perhaps inevitably have been thwarted, betrayed, and misunderstood, even if his methods had been as intelligent and statesmanlike as they were the reverse. He loved his people, he had fought by his father's side in civil war, he knew, as only a man trained from his earliest youth in the craft of war could know, how hopeless his case had become from the military point of view when his army, the weapon he had fashioned with so much diligence and care, crumbled to pieces in his hand, and the words of his letter to Lord Feversham ordering the disbandment of the faithful remnant of his troops, that he no longer desired to expose them to the danger of "resistance to a foreign army and a poisoned nation" were no doubt written with a sincere horror of replunging his country into a civil war.

There seems to have been a pause, almost of consternation, among the great Powers of Europe at the downfall of the English King. "The Pope says he has been deceived," wrote Melani, Tuscan attaché at Paris, but Innocent XI's regrets did not prevent the general opinion which found expression two months later in the words chalked on the doors of St. James's Palace :—"Cromwell II, by the Grace of God and favour of the Apostolic See, Protector of England." Spain, whose Ambassador at the Hague had had a votive Mass said in his chapel the day William sailed for England, had the mortification of hearing of the attack and pillage of Ronquillo's palace in London, containing besides his own goods and effects property worth some £500,000, which the English Catholics had placed there for safety. Louis XIV, caught in the meshes of his own intricate policy, hampered by his war with the Emperor

which he had declared at the moment most opportune for the purposes of the Prince of Orange, had served the interests of his bitterest enemy, whom he was to encounter a few months later with the force of England at his back, in the first of a series of battles which were to inflict as many reverses upon his arms as they had been uniformly glorious heretofore. Vainly did he blame Barillon (who, there is little doubt, had played more or less voluntarily into Sunderland's hands), and refuse to receive the Nuncio d'Adda on his way through France; and in vain did he generously come to the aid of his fallen kinsman. The succours which he had thought himself obliged to refuse when James, at last realising his own danger, had asked for them in the previous October—and when a French fleet might possibly have stopped William on his way to Torbay—were now to be lavished again and again, and always in vain. To neither friend nor foe had it appeared conceivable that matters in England would have moved so quickly, that the collapse could have been so sudden and so complete. 1689

The stir caused in Paris by the advent of the English Royal family finds expression in Madame de Sévigné's letters :—

> "Let us talk of the King and Queen of England: it is such an extraordinary thing to have this Court here, that nothing else is spoken of. Precedence is being settled, and a manner of life for people so far from being restored. The King was saying so the other day, and that this king is the best man in the world, that he should hunt with him, should come to Marly and to Trianon, and that the courtiers must get accustomed to it. . . . The Queen did not kiss Monsieur, at which he is sulking; she said to the king :—'Tell me what you wish me to do, if you wish me to follow the French fashion, I will salute whomsoever you please; in English fashion I should kiss no one.'"

Thus did Mary Beatrice guide herself skilfully through the all-important intricacies of French Court etiquette and win the admiration expressed by Madame de Sévigné a few days later :—

> "Every one is pleased with this Queen; she has a great deal of spirit . . . . everything she says is just and full of good sense; it is not the same with her husband: he certainly has courage, but a common

1689 mind (*un esprit commun*) and talks of everything which has happened in England with a degree of insensibility which inspires insensibility towards him. He is good-natured, and takes his share in all the diversions of Versailles. 17 *January*, 1689. The English Court is now quite established at St. Germains. The Queen pleases greatly. . . . She went to see the Dauphiness three days ago, dressed to perfection; a black velvet dress, a beautiful skirt, her head well dressed, a figure like the Princess of Conti's, and a great deal of majesty, . . . the King led her to her carriage, and when he came upstairs again he praised her highly; he said: 'That is how a Queen should be in body and mind, holding her court with dignity.' He admired her courage in her misfortunes and her affection for her husband, for it is true that she loves him. . . . Some of our ladies who wished to play the princess, had not kissed the Queen's skirt . . . the king took it ill; now they kiss her feet. . . . I agree with you that the King and Queen of England are much better off at St. Germains than in their own perfidious country. . . . They have refused to accept more than 50,000 francs a month, of all the king offered them and do not wish to live as royalties; many English have come to them: otherwise they would have contented themselves with still less."

The same day Ronchi, the Queen's chaplain, writes to the Duke of Modena from Versailles a full account of all the state regulations and orders of precedence, some of which are not yet settled, as, for instance, whether the Duke of Orleans is to have the distinction he claims between himself and the other princes of the blood, and if the duchesses who are to have *tabourets* may also be kissed by the Queen.

"The King of England has raised the Marquis of Powis to the rank of Duke, so that his wife may have the *tabouret* like the French duchesses. The representatives of foreign powers are waiting for instructions from their Governments before paying their court, but have written letters. . . .[1]

[1] The Dukes of Modena, besides their accredited envoys, had secret agents at the chief Courts of Europe, who sent regular letters—*avvisi*—which are very interesting as they were often used by the Ministers to convey items of intelligence which they did not consider it expedient to put into their official despatches. Modena claims to have been the first to introduce the system, which was followed by most of the other Chancelleries of Europe. The *Avviso* of Jan. 17 says:—." . . . Mylord Feversham has been set at liberty at the request of the Queen Dowager of England . . . . Count Rangoni was mistaken for Father Peters (*sic*) and nearly beaten to death by the mob"

Count Rangoni, Modenese envoy in London, who with difficulty escaped from prison, where he had been thrown by order of the Prince of Orange, says that the prisons are full . . . that Orange goes about in fear, and well guarded, that a Modenese gentleman having gone to see him dine, noticed mylord Churchill enter, and that the Prince never looked at him, so the said mylord retired to a window where he leaned very thoughtfully (*molto pensieroso*). The Modenese gentleman was astonished that the Prince of Orange, whom he considered a great politician, should take so little trouble to conciliate the inconstant and turbulent spirit of the English people." 1689

In the chorus of praise of the Queen we find a dissentient note in the Medici Archives. Melani writes to the Abbé Gondi, secretary to the Grand Duke of Tuscany :—

"The King of England is a very good man, and the Queen his wife has ruined him ; having great empire over him, she led him to make no account of the English nobility, and she made still less of the ladies of that country, which did her great harm, and will render it difficult for them ever to trust in her ; they say they could rely upon the King, but not on the Queen, as she is an Italian, and devout, as if the devout were slow to forgive injuries. . . . The King [Louis XIV] is displeased with the conduct of Monsieur de Barillon in England, . . . All who come from there are agreed that the excessive goodness (*la troppa bontà*) of the King, and the excessive devotion of the Queen have ruined them, as their antechambers were always full of religious, who governed the whole court. The King of England passes here for a very good Prince, but without that elevation of character which fame had attributed to him."

Rizzini had escaped with difficulty from England, having been arrested at Gravesend. He writes to the Duke of Modena from Calais of the cool courage of the Queen before her flight, holding her court as usual, and supping with an appearance of appetite.

"The King passed through Gravesend while I was there, and spent the night." [on his second flight] "He asked to see me . . . . and after supper when we were alone spoke over an hour, confiding most secret and important affairs, that I might communicate them to the Queen and to the most Christian King in case His Majesty did not succeed in escaping. . . . As the King showed some ambiguity of

1689 mind, whether he should withdraw himself from the power and the hands of the usurper or adventure his fortune after seeing the great joy of the people, extraordinarily delighted at His Majesty's return to London after his first flight, I ventured to insist, with the most efficacious reasons, that he should not trust to the deceptive acclamations of a people interiorly seduced and naturally inconstant, nor to the hoped-for moderation of a usurper who was proceeding in all things as a parricide and tyrant . . .

The Spanish Ambassador publicly gave out that it was I alone who had persuaded the Queen to take refuge in France with the Prince of Wales . . . It is true I laboured more than any one to induce her to escape, but not to one place more than to another, conforming myself to the intention of Your Serene Highness to get her to Modena . . . Mylords Peterborough and Salisbury are prisoners, and closely guarded. . . ."

According to Hoffmann, Rizzini had long been sold to France, and he suggests in one of his despatches that both he and Donna Vittoria Montecuccoli had received a large sum from Louis XIV, but he seems to have had little or no authority for the statement. Rizzini writes again from Paris, January 25, 1689, of his kind reception by Louis, who was loud in the praises of the Queen :—

"In this state of affairs the dispossessed King enjoys tranquillity in this kingdom and a secure haven offered with truly fraternal affection by this ever-glorious and invincible monarch. . . . The indifference (*la poca curanza*) or even insensibility he displays concerning his misfortunes is noticed and variously interpreted; but those who know his undaunted nature are well aware that he is never accustomed to betray his distress, not that he feels the less deeply, for wounds are often the most painful which are the most carefully concealed."

Donna Vittoria Montecuccoli Davia was created Countess of Almond by James II as a recognition of her services to the Queen. She kept up a correspondence with the Duke of Modena, sending him news of the exiled Court.

"St. Germains. *Jan.* 27. 1689

". . . . The Queen enjoys splendid health and supports everything with a good heart, only complaining that she can do so little

now for those who serve her. [This regret was to be increasingly present to the Queen for the rest of her life.] Until now she has been served by French officials; but I believe they will soon leave as there are already many English to replace them, and more are arriving every day, including many Protestants who have declared for the King, who is in very good humour, hunts and goes often to Versailles, as he will do to-day. . . ." 1689

"QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO CARDINAL RINALDO D'ESTE, AT ROME.

"ST. GERMAINS. 1 *February*, 1689

". . . . The King arrived three weeks ago, and immediately resolved to send a messenger to the Pope . . . and has appointed M. Porter [Colonel James Porter, co. Wexford] an honourable man of great spirit and a zealous Catholic, by whom you will be informed of everything as he has orders to take no step without you. God grant good may come of it, and put an end to whatever bad intelligence there is among Catholic Princes, that they may all unite in defence of our holy faith, because in truth it would be shameful (*sarebbe vergogna*) that all the Protestant Princes should labour and be united to advance their false religion, and that the Catholics, instead of uniting to defend the faith, should be at variance with each other. I am sure, when His Holiness is plainly informed of the miserable state in which we, and all the Catholics of our kingdoms find ourselves, he will be moved with compassion, and will do all he can to help us.

The chief point therefore is to make His Holiness sensible of our misfortunes, which I think will be easy by telling him the simple truth, which M. Porter will first relate to you, and then, with you, to the Holy Father. . . . I know your zeal for religion and for the King's service needs no spur, and therefore I shall not labour in this particular, feeling assured that you will do your utmost to induce His Holiness to consent to what is desired, which seems to us the only remedy to so many ills.

I hope you may have the honour of bringing this important negociation to a good end, upon which depends the quiet and welfare of three kingdoms, the King's, my son's and my own, for which alone I flatter myself you would do much. . . ."

To obtain peace between Austria and France[1] and to get subsidies from the Pope were the objects the Queen refers to, but

[1] The *Avviso* of Feb. 18 says:—". . . The King of England having received letters from Rome, went to Versailles to confer with the most Christian King and the Pope has

1689 the Papal exchequer was being drained in defence of a nearer and more important cause, the defence of Christendom against the Turks, who but a few years before had been hammering at the very gates of Vienna, and to whom Louis XIV (whose zeal for moral unity at home had led to the wretched Revocation of the Edict of Nantes) did not scruple to send money to help them against the Emperor Leopold, with whom he was himself at war. Meanwhile important events were happening in England, and Evelyn notes them succinctly as they occur. The revulsion of feeling in many men's minds is noticeable in his Diary :— often condemnatory of James's acts during his short reign, and having noted almost with indifference the reports of the Prince of Orange's projected arrival, there is now a different tone in the short entries.

"29 January, 1689. Grand Committee or the whole House, 51 for a Regency, 54 against ; the minority alleging the danger of dethroning kings, and scruples. . . . Some were for sending to His Majesty with conditions ; others that the King can do no wrong and the mal-administration chargeable to his Ministers. Only two Bishops out of eight or nine against Regency. . . . In short, things tended to dissatisfaction on both sides ; add to this the morose temper of the Prince of Orange, who shew'd little countenance to the noblemen and others. . . . The English army also was not so in order and firme to his interest, nor so weaken'd but that it might give interruptions. . . . 30th. The Anniversary of King Charles I *martyrdom* ; but in all the publicq offices and pulpit prayers the litany for the King and Queen was curtail'd and mutilated. 6 February. The Convention of the Lords and Commons now declare the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, France and Ireland (Scotland being an independent kingdom). There was much contest about the King's abdication, and whether he had vacated the Government. The Earl of Nottingham and about twenty Lords, and many Bishops enter'd their

sent briefs to the King of France and to the Emperor exhorting them to make peace. . . . 21 Feb. It is published here that the Court of Rome was scandalised—*si sia scandalizzato*—that the King of England had retired to France and that for that reason he must expect no help from the Holy See ; but the re-establishment of the British King is reserved for the glory of this King, who is applying himself to it with as much ardour as if it were his own, although almost the whole of Europe appears united against him. . ."

protests, but the concurrence was against them. 21st. I saw the *new Queen and King* proclaimed the very next day after her coming to Whitehall, with great acclamations and generall good reception. Bonfires, bells, guns, etc. It was believ'd that both, especially the Princess, would have shew'd some (seeming) reluctance at least, of assuming her father's crown, and made some apology. . . . Which would have shew'd very handsomely to the world and according to the character given of her piety, consonant also to her husband's first declaration that there was no intention of deposing the King, but of succouring the Nation; but nothing of all this appear'd, she came into Whitehall laughing and jolly as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undresse, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from roome to roome to see the convenience of Whitehall; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late Queen lay, and within a night or two sate downe to play at basset as the Queen her predecessor used to do. She smil'd upon and talked to everybody. . . . This carriage was censured by many. 1689

Divers Bishops and Noblemen are not at all satisfied with this so sudden assumption of the Crown, without any previous sending and offering some conditions to the absent King or, on his not returning or not assenting to those conditions, to have proclaimed him [the Prince of Orange] Regent; but the major part of both Houses prevail'd to make them King and Queen immediately, and a Crowne was tempting. This was oppos'd and spoken against so vehemently by Lord Clarendon (her owne uncle) that it put him by all preferment, which must doubtlesse have been as great as could have been given him. My lord of Rochester, his brother, overshot himselfe by the same carriage and stiffnesse."

The following letter from Mary Beatrice to the General of the Jesuits is undated, but evidently written about this time. It is the strongest in its terms of any we have from her pen. Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

"Rev. Father. I see by the letter you have had the charity to write to condole with me in the misfortunes which have befallen our Crown, that you feel them as a good friend and a very good religious. I think I may say without vanity that the friendship I have always shown your Society deserved no less from you, and moreover I leave the whole world to judge if the hatred of religion has not been the cause of the treason and revolt of our subjects; if

1689 we have not lost our own kingdoms for having sought to further Christ's.

This is why I cannot overcome my astonishment at the strange policy of those Princes, even Catholics, who allowed themselves to be surprised into such strange and unchristian imaginations, as to attempt to say that religion had no part in our sufferings, and then spared not to treat us as enemies with insolent outrage from the moment the heretic usurper had seized upon our throne. In truth it was a little too much (*un peu trop fort*) to add calumnies and insults to the misfortunes it had pleased Divine Providence to inflict on us; but I hope God will not delay to open the eyes and touch the hearts of those Princes, that they may not permit the sacrifice of the interests of the faith by the evil policy suggested to them by certain interested Ministers, who have but the semblance of true religion. . . .

Begging the help of your prayers that God may give me the grace of entire submission to His Holy Will, I subscribe myself

Your affectionate friend,

MARIA R."

The day William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England, James II wrote a long letter in Latin to the Emperor Leopold, asking his assistance to recover his throne. The answer, also in Latin, came two months later, and, with incomprehensible rudeness, the Emperor addresses the fallen monarch by the title of "Most Serene Highness." The letter contains some unpleasant home-truths, regretting his downfall which was what might have been expected, attributing his misfortunes to the French alliance, and not forgetting to point out that Louis XIV was actually helping the Turks in their warfare against the Empire. The letter concludes with the assurance that under the circumstances it was impossible to help the cause of the English King.

The shrewd pen of Madame de Sévigné has some characteristic remarks at this time :—"The Queen of England looks as if, God willing, she would rather be reigning in England than at St. Germains, although overwhelmed with the heroic bounties of the King. As for the King of England, he appears content, and that is the reason he finds himself here. . . . All Ireland is for him; he would have done better

to have taken refuge there. He is not liked as well as the Queen. . . . Some one has said, with respect to the King of England's coldness, that when one listened to him, one understood why he was here . . . 25 February. It is said the King of England is going to Ireland; the rumour is abroad, but I answer for nothing this year, as people do nothing but lie. He has dined with M. de Lauzun." [1] 1689

Soon after his arrival in France, James II had written to Lord Dartmouth :—

> "However the Prince of Orange uses me in other things, sure he will not refuse me the common civility of letting all my coaches and horses come over to me; 'tis but what I did to Prince George [of Denmark] when he went from me. I send this bearer Rol [Rodolph ?] Sheldon to you to bring them away as soon as a pass can be got from the Prince of Orange. Speak for the pass yourself, or to Ld Middleton to have it solicited; give directions to De la Trie to send the best of my guns and pistols over with Sheldon, this bearer, to whom I refer what else I have to say.
>
> JAMES R."

The pass was obtained, but William revoked it upon hearing that James was starting for Ireland. The Queen's carriages and horses were, however, already shipped and got away before they could be stopped, so that Mary Beatrice had her own equipage at St. Germains, driven by her old coachman, who had been Oliver Cromwell's.

There was no more gallant figure in the small Court now forming at St. Germains than that of the young, pious and valiant soldier, James's son, the Duke of Berwick. Engaged at the age of fifteen in the service of the Emperor against the Turks and wounded at the battle of Buda, he was recalled to England in 1688. Churchill in vain tried to gain him to the Orange cause; he obeyed the King's summons to Rochester, and helped him to escape, attending him in the disguise of a

[1] Mary Beatrice did not fail to prove her gratitude to Lauzun. The *avviso* of Feb. 7 says: "The Queen of England has asked the King (*Louis XIV*) for the order of the Holy Ghost made vacant by the death of Vieuville, and it is believed it is for the Comte de Lauzun. . ." The Dukedom conferred upon him some two years later was also obtained by the Queen.

1689 servant. "He never left the King's side," writes his biographer. Early in February 1689 he was set to form regiments out of the scattered officers and soldiers who had come over to France, for the purpose of taking them to the aid of Tyrconnel in Ireland, for James II had now determined, with the help of France, to attempt the recovery of his lost dominions. Abbé Melani writes to the Tuscan Secretary of State, 7 February, 1689 :—

> ". . . Each day more English arrive at St Germains, and a Captain of Dragoons succeeded in bringing his company and all their horses across the water. . . . There are now over 4,000, all splendid men (*bellissima gente*) and it is concluded that if the King, after sending the Queen and the Prince of Wales into safety, had put himself at the head of his troops, he would have had a considerable party, because the soldiers and inferior officers loved him and served him faithfully, and the rebellion took place solely among the superior officers,—even of these and among the greater part of the Bishops there were many who wished to see their laws maintained and the Jesuits banished, but not the overthrow of the King; he has not known his own advantage and still less how to take a resolution worthy of a magnanimous king; if, when the Prince of Orange landed, he had gone against him at once as Lord Feversham advised, he would have broken the measures of the rebels and would most probably have gained a complete victory.
>
> He lives entirely surrounded by religious and speaks of his downfall with as much indifference as if it did not concern him, and as if he had never been a king, so much so that the French are quite out of conceit with him, and those who knew him in Flanders when he was Duke of York, declare he is not the same man, so great a change do they find in His Majesty, who, however, is so affable and courteous that he leaves nothing to be desired on that score."

The poor Queen was now to suffer for her former efforts for the aggrandisement of her uncle. Rizzini writes to the Duke of Modena, Feb. 16 :—

> ". . . . The opinion of this Court concerning the most Serene Prince Cardinal [d'Este] is unfavourable, but out of consideration for their Britannic Majesties no alienation is expressed. At Versailles

and at St Germains however they declaim against Cardinal Howard, who has shown himself hostile to the interests of their Majesties and the declared enemy of France, and it is held by several that his bad feeling against their Majesties proceeds from his having been deprived of the Protection of England in favour of the Prince Cardinal. In truth, according to the prudent, it was not a wise measure; but those who promoted it in London, had no thought of future consequences; it did great harm, especially to the Queen, giving occasion for iniquitous imputations, and setting against her Majesty not only the house of Arundel, part Catholic and part Protestant, but all connected with it and the English in general. . . . 21 February. . . The King of England proclaims loudly that he was betrayed by the Catholic Ambassador [Don Pedro Ronquillo] and what is worse, that the latter was supported by Nuncio d'Adda. Nevertheless the latter has had so little judgment as to come to the Court. . . ." 1689

Louis XIV refused to see d'Adda despite the good offices of King James. Rizzini continues :—

"Their Majesties were much afflicted at the news of the sudden death of the Catholic Queen, their niece [daughter of the Duke of Orleans and Henrietta of England] which has caused great surprise and grief at Court. . . She had lately written long letters of all she hoped might be effected in favour of His Britannic Majesty. . . . and had not failed to incite her Royal Consort to moderate his animosity against France, and to facilitate some accommodation between this Court and the Emperor; but all the fruits of her efforts is destroyed by her premature death (she was 26 years of age) . . . ."

Dangeau in his Memoirs gives an instance of the magnificent courtesy of Louis XIV to the fallen king :—"The Court has taken mourning for the Queen of Spain. The two Kings were in violet to-day : the King of England wears violet as King of France, which title he still bears." Louis suffered James to quarter the Lilies of France with the Lions of England, and Mary Beatrice's chair was raised a degree higher than his own.

James wrote to Cardinal d'Este, February 24, to announce his departure for Ireland, giving as one of his reasons for haste :—"Half the English army have deserted and the

1689 diversity of interests and confusion of tongues in that new Babel is as great as we could desire. . . ."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO CARDINAL D'ESTE.

"ST. GERMAINS. *Feb.* 26. 1689.

". . . It is a great consolation to the King and to me to hear of His Holiness's affectionate tenderness towards us. I hope we are not unworthy of it, and that the Pope will have the goodness to let the world see that his actions on our behalf correspond with his words, which in the present conjuncture would not be sufficient for us. . . .

This King certainly gives us great succours, and I hope His Holiness will do likewise, for without money we can hope for nothing good.

As for me, I am in great anguish, tormented in mind and body; for several days I have had terrible sufferings from the stone, which have left me so prostrate that I cannot write this letter without fatigue. At the same time the King has determined to go to Ireland, which is certainly praiseworthy, that being the only refuge left to him; pray very hard for me. . . . but I do not wish to enlarge upon my distresses. . . .

. . . . My son is perfectly well, and I remain with unchangeable cordiality,

Your affectionate niece,
MARIA R."

James II sent his former Ambassador, Skelton, on a mission to the various Courts of Europe which had little success. The Emperor refused to see him, and the other Powers gave him nothing but fair words. As for Louis XIV, the plan which suited his own policy was to send James, who would have preferred to go direct to Scotland, to Ireland. "The best thing King James could do," he wrote, "would be to forget he had ever reigned in Great Britain, and to think only of establishing himself solidly in Ireland." The French Ministers drew up and presented to James a "*résumé* of the reasons which should oblige the King of England to pass into Ireland."

Abbé Mélani sends an account to Grand Duke Cosimo of the preparation for James II's expedition :—

"It is now public that His Majesty will sail for Ireland from Brest. The King [Louis XIV] wished to send 6,000 troops with

him, but it being feared that the Catholics of Ireland might think he intended to put the French in possession of that country, it was decided to give him only 2,000 [the rest followed later with Lauzun] under the command of M. Rosa [Conrad, Marquis of Rosen] nephew of the famous Colonel Rosa who served under the Regency, and one of the best officers in France, with the title of Lieutenant General. 1689

The King is also sending, as his Ambassador to the English King, Count d'Avaux, who will act as his first Minister of State, so that nothing may be done in those parts without his participation. It is said that besides these troops, the English king is taking with him 500,000 crowns in gold, supplied by the King. M. d'Avaux started for Brest on Saturday. . . . this choice clearly shows that M. de Barillon has lost credit at the French Court, and not without reason, having discovered nothing of what was plotted in England, and then having acted weakly and basely (*con viltà di cuore.*). . . . His Majesty was to have started yesterday at day-break, so all the Princes of the blood, and the whole Court, came the day before to bid him farewell, and wish him better fortune than he had in England. The Queen thinks of retiring into some convent near St. Germains. . . .

Besides the money, the Most Christian King has already given the King of England, he is allowing him a fund of 200,000 frs. a month to pay his troops. . .

The King of England found he could not do without Jesuits in Ireland, so he is taking half-a-dozen, much to the displeasure of the Englishmen who are with him. The most Christian King has given him six General Officers, twenty captains, thirty lieutenants, and forty cadets, several artillery officers, cannons, ammunition, and arms for 20,000 men . . . twelve saddle horses splendidly accoutred, three carriages . . . a silver service for when His Majesty dines with several persons, and another in silver-gilt . . . a bed, linen, a toilette, and in fact everything necessary for a king upon a campaign. His Majesty also gave him his own travelling chariot and the pistols he wore in his holsters, begging him to use them, and finally 600,000 crowns in specie. . . . When the two kings separated, after embracing several times, he of France told the other, he would perhaps be surprised at the compliment he was about to make him—that for his glory and welfare he trusted he might never see him in this kingdom again. The other responded that his obligations to His Majesty were such, that he hoped to re-enter into possession of his kingdoms for no greater reason than to be able to testify his gratitude. . . .

1689 It will be impossible for him to recover the throne he has lost through his own fault (*sua mala condotta*) without gaining a battle over the Prince of Orange. However, His Majesty is so tranquil and indifferent that it appears certain he would be content to stay in France employed solely in exercises of devotion and the chase, were it not for the stimulus given him no less by the Vice-Roy of Ireland than by the King of France.

M. Skelton has gone to Turin, Venice and Vienna, Colonel Porter has also left for Modena, Florence and Rome."

Madame de Sévigné writes February 28, 1689 :—

"The King of England has given the Order of the Garter to M. de Lauzun. He really started this morning for Ireland, where he is awaited with impatience; he will be better there than here! In taking leave of the King he said, laughing, that he had only forgotten one thing—personal arms for himself, upon which the King gave him his own; our romancers never invented a gallanter act. What may not this brave unfortunate prince accomplish with these ever-victorious arms? . . . 8 p.m. I have just returned from M. de Pomponne's. I made him talk of the present affairs; he thinks all these great mountains will be levelled. This Irish business is admirable and occupies the Prince of Orange so completely that there is nothing to be feared on our coasts. . . . 2 March. The King does not wish the Queen of England to go into a convent; she will see few people; but the King will take care of her, and she will have constant news. . . . The farewell between her and the King pierced every heart: there were tears, cries, sobs, swoons; one can easily understand it. He is now where he ought to be; he has a good cause, he defends the true religion; he must conquer or die, being a courageous man."

Rizzini to the Duke of Modena.

"2 *March*, 1689.

". . . The British King was not at first disposed to start so soon, according to his usual habit, but pressing letters from Tyrconnel imploring him to come as speedily as possible, made him take a sudden resolution to depart. . . . The most powerful reasons were urged here, and as His Majesty has been hitherto esteemed one of the most valorous of princes, he might have lost credit and reputation if, after losing one kingdom without drawing his sword, he had made no personal effort to preserve the other two.

The last important reason regards the advantage of this Most Christian Court, as the passing of the King into Ireland will cause dissensions in England, which will so occupy the Prince of Orange that he will not be able to apply himself to anything else and least of all to a war with France. The King departed very cheerfully, except for the sorrow of leaving his adored Queen Consort and his beloved child. 1689

Yesterday Madame de Maintenon went to St. Germains, sent, as it is supposed by the Most Christian King to comfort the Queen with the consolations of her exalted mind; they remained more than an hour alone together in a small closet, and no one exactly knows what was the subject of their conference."

To understand the following letter from the Queen to Cardinal d'Este it is necessary to remember that the quarrel respecting the Ambassador's quarters in Rome was still acute between France and the Holy See, the French Ambassador excommunicated by Innocent XI, the Papal Nuncio at Paris imprisoned and Avignon occupied by the French.

"St. Germains, 14 *March*, 1689.

". . . Now that the King is gone—I had news from him yesterday that he was leaving on the 7th and I hope in God he is now in Dublin—the management of affairs is left to me, and I have none more at heart than these differences between Rome and the King of France. You may believe that I do my utmost to find a remedy for them, and as I see that you are working for the same end, I entreat you not to pause, seeing that it concerns not only the service of the King and myself, but that of the Church and all Christendom.

I have not yet been able to discover what is the first step sought for by one side or the other, and without knowing that it is impossible to act; I beg you, if you can penetrate the wishes of the Court or Rome to let me know in clear terms. I know very well in general that here it is desired that the excommunication should be removed and the Ambassador received, but knowing it superficially does not suffice; it is said that if the Pope would make the first advance, however small it might be, they would do much here, but no one will begin, so how can we hope to finish?

In truth this is not a matter, nor a time, for delay, nor for standing upon punctilio, when the preservation or destruction of our religion

1689 is in question. I pray the Holy Ghost may enter deeply into the good heart of our Holy Father to make him conscious of this truth, and inspire him to find a remedy without a moment's delay. . . .

There is another thing most necessary for the success of the King's voyage, I mean a good sum of money; this King has really behaved with the greatest generosity, but he has much to do to find money for himself to keep up 300,000 men; so if His Holiness would help us, it would be a meritorious act before God and man. . . . Therefore I beg of you to obtain a good round sum, that our enemies and the Pope's may have no occasion to say that His Holiness gives us nothing but fair words to help us to recover our kingdoms.

I do not know if Monsignor d'Adda has yet arrived in Rome; he is a man of great spirit, and he can inform the Pope of what he has seen. This King would not let him remain in France, thinking him not well-intentioned towards himself, but he is mistaken in the man, who seeks nothing more passionately than this much desired accommodation. I have a particular esteem for Monsignor d'Adda, which I hope will induce you to see him willingly, and treat with him confidentially as one of my good friends. You will have many particulars from him, and may agree together in showing the Pope the necessity of giving money to the King, and of reconciling himself with this Court.

Perhaps if His Holiness sees that all his faithful servants are of one mind he will consent more easily to our prayers.

I have been ill several times this past month, but now I am better. My poor heart is afflicted at being so far from the King, and is filled with a thousand apprehensions. Of your charity pray for me, for the King, and for my son, who, thank God, is very well. . . ."

The conditions under which James II undertook the expedition to Ireland were difficult. Louis XIV, who had provided the money and the ships, intended to control the course of events, and from the first, the interests of the English King as he understood them himself, met with opposition from d'Avaux representing those of the French Court. According to St. Simon, d'Avaux had little chance of succeeding "with a Prince with whom he could never agree, a Prince perpetually deceived, and yet obstinately bent, in spite of all d'Avaux's representations, upon running into all the nets spread for him. Events constantly proved d'Avaux to be in the right."

JAMES II ARRIVES AT KINSALE

COUNT D'AVAUX TO LOUIS XIV. 1689

"KINSALE, 23 *March*, 1689.

". . . The King of England arrived at Kinsale last Tuesday at 5 in the evening after a prosperous voyage. . . . We met but one vessel, an English merchantman from Bristol who told us there was news that the King of England was to embark at Brest with fourteen vessels, and that the English and Dutch ships in the Downs had orders to cruise before Brest. . . . Affaires Étrangères

All things seem well disposed here . . . the only thing, Sire, which may give us trouble is the irresolution of the King of England, who often changes his purpose and does not always determine upon the best course. He also dwells upon small matters, spending all his time on them, and passing lightly over essential ones. . . . He wished to leave here without waiting to land the arms, ammunition and stores Your Majesty had provided him with. There were not ten horses available to take us to Dublin . . . so I have persuaded him to remain here till to-day, and to give the necessary orders. So we shall leave nothing behind us except in the best possible condition."

". . . The Earl of Tyrconnel went to Cork to receive His Majesty, accompanied by about a hundred gentlemen on horseback, eager to salute the King. His Majesty paid him all the compliments due to the inviolable firmness he had displayed in his service, and not only made him dine at his own table, but placed him on his right, and the Duke of Berwick on his left . . . and created him Duke. After receiving an exact account of the state of Ireland, the King held a Council to which the new Duke was admitted. The King of France esteemed the Earl of Tyrconnel so highly as to send him the *Cordon Bleu* and a casket containing 12,000 louis." Bib. Nat. MS. James II in Ireland

Louis XIV also sent him by d'Avaux a sword enriched with diamonds and other precious stones. Tyrconnel expressed himself much flattered, but declared there were fifty lords in Ireland who deserved as well. He went to fetch d'Avaux for his first audience with the King at Dublin with twenty carriages and six, and a large number of carriages and four.

This pleasant picture with its abundance of horses contrasts painfully with the General-in-Chief de Rosen's description to Louvois of the state of affairs at Kinsale :—

"KINSALE, 26 *March*, 1689.

"I feel obliged to let you know the confusion and disorder in this country ; the troops which have been raised getting no pay, pillage Ministère de la Guerre

1689 and rob openly and with impunity. The English officers who came with the fleet, to the number of 200 seized upon all the horses within an area of two leagues, taking them to Dublin, 150 miles away, from whence not one will be returned. . . . It will be long before we can get the arms, ammunition and treasure removed out of the fortress here, where they are by no means safe . . . and it is impossible to fortify it quickly as there are neither workmen nor tools in the neighbourhood. . . . M^sers de Maumont, Pusignan, Léry and I have been kept here until to-day, when fifty horses were brought for our service, but without saddles or bridles, and it is difficult even to get rope for halters, so had it not been for the fleet, we should have been obliged to let them go again. . . . However, we hope to rejoin the King, and to take the treasure the best way we can. . . . "

William and Mary were crowned King and Queen of England on the 11th of April.[1] Evelyn records the fact without comment :—" Saw the Coronation Procession. Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Sarum, preach'd with great applause. The Archbishop of Canterbury excus'd himself from officiating at the Coronation, which was performed by the Bishop of London, assisted by the Archbishop of York." Four days later, April 15, Louis XIV declared war against Spain, complaining among other things of the share taken by the Governor of the Spanish Low Countries in the Prince of Orange's enterprise against England :— ". . . His Majesty could not believe such conduct had been dictated by the King, his master, who by so many reasons of religion, kindred, and the security of kings was bound to oppose such usurpation. His Majesty had hoped the Catholic King would have united with him for the re-establishment of the legitimate King of England. . . ."

Proclamation of Louis XIV

Meanwhile the accounts from Ireland remained deplorable ;

[1] The *avviso* from London of May 4th 1689, says :—" The new King and Queen made a visit to the Queen Dowager. . ." Catherine of Braganza's position must have been an embarrassing one. A Paris *avviso* of the previous month reports :—" Thirty-three Lords, among whom are some who had been most partial to the Prince of Orange, have written a letter to the King (Louis XIV) brought here by an equerry of the Queen Dowager under the pretext of arranging for her journey to the Bourbon waters, thanking him for the reception he had given their king, and assuring him of their fidelity and service. . ."

d'Avaux writes to the King from Charlemont, 23 April, 1689 1689 :—

"Sire, I cannot tell Your Majesty the grief I feel at the conduct of the King of England, and at the resolutions I see him take each day. What vexes me most is that Lord Melfort, either out of subserviency, or for other reasons unknown to me, adheres to all his notions and when I take the liberty to combat them, supports them with all his force in the King's presence." Affaires Étrangères

He describes the miserable state of the country, and James's intention of leaving for Scotland immediately after the siege of Londonderry. As to the King's habit of pardoning :—

"Those who wished him no ill before, now say that if the King of England regains his throne he will pardon all those who have been against him ; whereas if the Prince of Orange retains it, he will hang every man of the King's party, so that it is safer to adhere to the Prince of Orange. . . . "

The Queen was meanwhile doing her utmost to help the King's cause in Scotland. By pawning some jewels she was able, to his surprise, to send £4,000 to Viscount Dundee for the purchase of arms, and on May 21 she wrote to the Duke of Gordon :—

". . . One of the greatest satisfactions I have had since I left England has been to hear of the zeal and faithfulness with which you have served and serve the King, at a time when everybody seems to have forgot their duty, and when the King is not only not in a condition of rewarding those that perform it, but hardly able to let them know he is sensible of it, or to give them any light of his affairs to encourage them to remain faithful. By this you show yourself a good Christian as well as a man of honour, and being bred up with both, I do assure myself that nothing can ever alter you. The Queen of England, as well as the King of France admire your conduct, and upon all occasions speak of it and of your courage in keeping for your Master what he left in your charge [Edinburgh Castle]. I know you need no encouragement to make you go on as bravely as you have begun, but it will be a satisfaction to you to hear that the King's affairs in Ireland are in a very good posture ; there was no town against him except Londonderry, which by what they write from Dublin is, I am confident, before this in the King's Spalding Club Miscellany

1689 hands, so that he is entirely master in that kingdom, and I hope will not stop there. I do conjure you to have a good heart, and encourage all the friends the King has in your country, for I am confident they will soon hear some good from him. Your good friend that sends you this letter, will acquaint you with my name, which I dare not write, nor make any superscription to this letter, for God knows whether ever it will come to you ; but your friend will answer for me how truly I am yours."

GENERAL DE ROSEN TO MARQUIS DE LOUVOIS.

"DUBLIN, 20 *May*, 1689.

Ministère de la Guerre

". . . . Everything is in consternation in this country owing to the bad government . . . affairs are in the same state as they were seven weeks ago. . . . The troops continue to pillage for lack of pay. . . . M. d'Avaux is my witness that not a day passes when the King calls us to his Council that I do not represent the bad state of affairs and offer to go everywhere to remedy them if he will give me a list of the troops, and the places where I can find them. Affairs at Londonderry are still the same, as it is impossible to furnish the necessary things for reducing the place. They have given orders to march a few troops, but nearly all are without arms and nearly naked ; the greater part of the officers are wretches without heart or honour, and a single cannon shot passing as high as a church steeple sends all the battalion to the ground, and the only way to make them get up is to ride over their bellies. This gives such courage to the besieged and such scorn for our troops that they despise them entirely . . . as they prove by their frequent sorties. . . . The King is presently occupied in giving the mornings to his Parliament and the afternoons to long drives of twenty miles into the country. The Duke of Tyrconnel is trying to recover his health, and Mylord Melfort is engaged in guarding his wife with a jealousy which is capable of making him lose the small amount of genius he possesses and which is not unknown to you. Mr. de McCarthy [afterwards Viscount Mountcashell] who has been placed in charge of the Artillery is a very good subject, and the only one on whom we can count, but unfortunately he is in the same case as myself, looked upon askance for telling them too often and too crudely of the wretched condition of all things. . . . If the Prince of Orange is well informed of the situation, and can bring 7 or 8,000 men with officers to put at the head of the 50,000 Protestants who are ready to

run at us, we shall be not a little embarrassed, the more so that at present we should not know where to find 4,000 men to oppose them with. . . . This is not the moment for stubbornly insisting upon passing into Scotland, and thence into England to recover lost kingdoms, but rather to lose four like them by the pitiable methods generally taken. . . . " 1689

Before these bad tidings had reached the Queen, we have one joyful letter from her to the Superior of the Nuns at Chaillot :—

" St. Germains, *Tuesday morning* (*May*), 1689.

" I was so pressed with business and visits all day that I had not a moment to tell you of my joy, having received long letters from the King of recent date, assuring me that he is in perfect health, and expecting every moment to hear of the taking of the town now being besieged. God be praised, who has heard your prayers. . . . " The letter is endorsed :—" Not to be shown, as things did not go well in Ireland." Chaillot MSS. Archives National

The Pope's answer to her earnest supplications reached the Queen in May.

Rizzini to the Duke of Modena.

". . . The Cardinal Nuncio went to Chaillot last week . . . he exposed the reasons for which neither the Pope nor the Catholic Princes could assist the British King, being obliged to look to their own preservation against the preponderance of France, making no little amplification to justify them, and especially His Holiness. The Queen was much surprised and answered in terms so grave, so warm and so sensible that he appeared astounded. Her Majesty understood the Cardinal meant to infer that the depression of France might be desirable, but she pointed out that that would be the destruction of religion, the most Christian King being the only bulwark against the formidable designs of the Protestants. . . .

Finally, the Cardinal pointed out that France had so many affairs on hand, that the succour she could give the King of England would inevitably become weaker, or unreliable; but Her Majesty with modest reticence and the great respect she has always shown towards the Holy See, replied that she prayed God to inspire His Holiness to help a King unjustly despoiled for his zeal for the true faith, when it was made clear to him that the Christian King was resolved to lose all rather than abandon him. . . . "

1689

"8 *June* 1689.

". . . . The King has not returned to the siege of Londonderry but remains in Dublin; he has not yet determined to go to Scotland, which would appear opportune, as the news from thence is better than from Ireland; the Duke of Gordon is vigorously defending himself in Edinburgh Castle, occasionally sending a shot from his artillery into the town to keep it in terror. Also Mylord Dundee, who had already declared for the King, has a following of 700 or 800 foot and horse, and expects to raise some of the counties in the hope of prompt succour from the King who has sent him arms and ammunition which he has safely received. . . . "

The French Court was entirely opposed to a descent into Scotland. Louvois, in one of his most masterly despatches, writes to d'Avaux, June 13, 1869.

Ministère de la Guerre

". . . His Majesty has no other desire than to procure the re-establishment of the English King . . . so you may speak frankly . . . and say that so long as there is an appearance that the assistance may be useful . . . the King will do all he can to help him in all things; but if His Majesty finds that the succours he sends at a time when he must deprive himself of what is necessary for his own defence against the many enemies he has at present, are uselessly employed in Ireland, he will be obliged to retain them for his own service. . . .

It is idle to flatter oneself; the Prince of Orange is taking measures, after securing Scotland, to send an army into Ireland. It will be commanded by Marshal Schomberg and consist of 6 or 7,000 Dutch troops and 18 to 20,000 of the best English and Scotch forces he has lately raised. . . . If Londonderry cannot be reduced it would be as well not to leave the troops to perish before it, which the King will need to defend himself against those of the Prince of Orange. . . . The bad conduct of the force before Londonderry cost the life of M. de Pusignan and M. de Maumont [the Duke of Berwick was wounded on the same occasion]. The King of England must not suppose that in letting General Officers be killed like common soldiers he will not be allowed to feel the want of them; such persons are rare in all countries and have to be husbanded. . . . It is to be hoped the arms landed at Bantry by M. de Chateaurenauld [after the battle of Bantry Bay] have been delivered; it would be

a strange thing if the Prince of Orange's troops were to land before they had been served out to the King's forces; they should have been delivered at once that the men might have learned the use of them; if I am not mistaken, three-fourths of them have never seen a musket. 1689

The King has spoken to the Queen of England in the strongest possible terms on the disorder in Ireland. You will be so good as to let me know with what effect, for there is not much appearance, as things are, that the succours sent are of any use . . . the payment of the troops should be regulated in such a way that it could not be altered. . . . The King explained to the Queen of England that the state of his kingdom would not permit him to continue to help the King of England if affairs in Ireland remained in the horrid confusion they were in when the last messengers left there. . . . "

The very day the above letter was written, Lord Melfort in the King's name wrote to Louvois entreating the King of France to send a fleet to carry him to Scotland or England as "an absolutely necessary thing . . . . and it is certain that if the King were to arrive in England before the taxes and impositions, so odious to the people, are levied, the country would be generally for him. . . . Besides the Catholics, a very considerable number of Protestants have associated themselves to join the King, and have even horses and arms ready in Scotland."

The Queen remained without news of the King for so long that Rizzini, writing on June 29, concludes that ships have been seized and letters intercepted, as it is incredible that the King would leave Her Majesty in such great anxiety, his last letter being dated 25 May. Meanwhile news has come from London of the arrest of Lord Preston and others on the discovery of a plot to restore the King, and d'Avaux complains to Louvois of the bad quality of the arms sent from France, adding:—"The King of England can undertake nothing considerable if he is not furnished with weapons to arm his troops, and with some disciplined troops to place at their head . . . . it seems likely that if he had a good supply of men, arms and money he could soon make himself master of

1689 England, if things there are in as good a state as several persons have informed him. . . ."

TERRIESI TO TUSCAN SECRETARY OF STATE.

"LONDON $\frac{17}{7}$ *June*,

". . . . The 13th inst. the House of Commons decreed that the Proclamation of the late King [dated from Dublin in May] although full of justice, goodness and clemency, offering pardon to all, even the most criminal of traitors and rebels, should be burned by the hangman, which has shocked the foreigners, unaccustomed to such inhumanity. . ."

PIETRO VENIER, VENETIAN ENVOY IN PARIS, TO THE SENATE.

"27 *July* 1689.

Archives, Venice

". . . . The Queen is grieved that union is deferred, as the interests of the British King in Ireland suffer thereby. . . . . Orange goes on establishing his fortune in those kingdoms followed by the applause of foreign Princes; the Emperor has recognised him as king, and so has the Court of Spain, which has confirmed Ronquillo as Ambassador, and announced by him the re-marriage of the King and the death of the late Queen, for whom the new English Court is taking mourning. Meanwhile, he has received a present of £15,000 sterling. . . . ."

"10 *August*. 1689.

". . . . . The landing of 1500 Irish troops and 50 officers in Scotland is confirmed. The party of Viscount Dundee is strengthened . . . . the English Parliament is occupied in the examination of the members of the discovered plot; intercepted letters from the King prove that, had it succeeded, he would have passed into that kingdom. Londonderry defends itself, having no scarcity of food, and encouraged not only by the hope of speedy relief, but by the slowness of the besiegers, who after three months attack have not been able to reduce the place.

The Queen is in great anguish, seeing the armies of this crown fully occupied; she recommends herself to the protection of Heaven, and to this King, and is ever in tears and in prayer. The Court of London, on the contrary, is in jubilee at the birth of a son to the Princess of Denmark."

"24 *August*.

"I had the honour of paying my respects to the Queen of England,

Pope Innocent XI.

and declared the grief of Your Excellencies at the strange adversities which have befallen her royal House, and the continuance of your ancient affectionate regard. . . After the audience, Her Majesty kept me an hour in various discourses upon current affairs . . . her hope of peace as the only means of obtaining a change in their concerns. . . . 1689

The Prince of Wales has been ill, but is now recovered. If, at so tender an age, it is allowable to judge of a likeness, I must say that he resembles the Queen, and such a likeness is the truest disproof of the false calumnies which have insulted her reputation. The most important news from London is that Mylord Dundee has defeated 4000 men under Mackay [Battle of Killiecrankie] . . . The victory, however, has cost the King dear, as Dundee remained on the field. This event may put the British King's affairs into a better posture in that country, if another capable head can be found. . . ."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO CARDINAL D'ESTE.

"ST GERMAINS, 24 *August*, 1689.

". . . News arrived yesterday of the death of the Pope. (Innocent XI died August 12th.) I pray God to give rest to his soul, and to inspire all the members of the Sacred College to make a good election, for Christendom has need of a Pope as holy as the late one,[1] but less partial, and less pertinacious. I suppose you are already on your way to Rome, and I doubt not but you will exercise all your judgment and prudence on an occasion when there will be so great need of both. We have no other interest at present than that of this King, so by serving him you will also serve us, and you may do so with a good conscience, as the King of France desires nothing but a Pope who will be impartial, and a father to all. I am writing to Cardinal Norfolk to unite himself to you in so great and important a business, and I beg you to forget the past, and that in future there may be a good intelligence between you, who certainly have the same object—the service of the King, my lord, after the service of God. . . .

The King is well, thank God, but still in Ireland, and without help he can do nothing. God grant that the future Pontiff may take our interests to heart, which at present are the same as his own. . . ."

PIETRO VERNIER TO THE SENATE.

"31 *August*.

". . . The Queen spares no efforts to urge this King to continue Archives, Venice

[1] Innocent XI was the last Pope declared Venerable by the Church of Rome.

1689 his assistance. There are some, however, who believe that finding money and help thrown away, warmth here is cooling; but the engagements and glory of the monarch should render such speculations fallacious."

A few days later, Venier reports a conversation with the French Minister, de Croisy, who hints that France cannot go on for ever risking officers and reputation "in a sterile and unfruitful soil. Three events have occurred simultaneously to blast the King's prospects, and the Court attributes them to his blunders, there is no one who does not accuse him of being the author and continuer of his own misfortunes." The three events were the relief of Londonderry, the landing of Schomberg and Count Solms in different parts of Ireland, and the capitulation of Edinburgh Castle through the weakness of the Duke of Gordon.

SAME TO SAME.

"14 *September*.

Archives, Venice "... Ireland is in consternation ... Schomberg has published an amnesty, and taken the title of Vice-Roy. ... A battle will be hazardous for the King with his raw troops, but he has determined to meet Schomberg, in order to save Limerick, and the passes conducting thereto as a retreat in case of necessity. ... I have seen the Queen, who expressed herself in general terms, admitting that affairs are taking a bad turn, and hanging by a thread ... that the King is in great peril. He has sent Mylord Dover here, who left with small hopes of obtaining help."

"26*th September* 1689.

"... The Queen has dissembled until now, but some words which are said to have escaped her have caused a little bitterness at this Court. She allows herself to be guided by two of her servants, enemies of the French, and she is supposed to give them all her confidence, which makes her more easily disliked. ... Misfortunes always come together, and destiny adds link to link of its heavy chain."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO DUKE OF MODENA.

"14 *October* 1689.

"The news from Ireland are most uncertain, and I have been without letters for some time; imagine, if you can, my impatience

and anxiety. Sometimes I feel as if my brain would give way, and unless God helps me, I do not know what will become of me, but I hope in His mercy soon to have some good news of the King. My son is well, thank God ; I also am in health, but I assure you I have no time to think of myself." 1689

Cardinal Ottoboni[1] having been elected Pope, and taken the title of Alexander VIII, the Queen lost no time in congratulating him, and entreating his protection for her husband, her child, and herself. "This letter will be laid at the feet of Your Holiness by Cardinal d'Este, my uncle ; I pray you to listen to all he will tell you from me, as he knows all my sentiments, and the full state of our affairs. . . ."

PIETRO VENIER TO VENETIAN SENATE.

"PARIS, 26 *October*, 1689.

". . . . The Queen expressed herself delighted at the Pope's election. She praised his eminent qualities, and appeared to hope for effects corresponding to his zeal. . . . Mylord Melfort is going to Rome. . . . He was Secretary of State to the King in Ireland ; he is a man of mediocre ability, and with no experience whatever in the management of affairs, but promoted to the post by means of flattery and adulation. . . ." Archives, Venice

Ronchi writes the same day to the Duke of Modena :—

"The Earl of Melfort is going to Rome, sent there, as it is believed, in order to get rid of him in a manner honourable to himself."

DUKE OF TYRCONNEL TO QUEEN MARY BEATRICE.

"DUBLIN CASTLE, $\frac{12}{22}$ *Dec.* 1689.

". . . . I cannot help repeating to your Majesty the trouble the King is in, as well as all of us, least the ministers there should hinder the French Fleet from having directions to obey his orders, in order to the transporting of himself and his troops into England at this time, the juncture being so favourable at present, that if slipt, perhaps in our days we may not see another. . . . The people of England were never in such a disposition to throw off the usurper, Brit. Mus. Leeds Papers, Add. MSS. 28,053, f. 398

[1] A Venetian.

1689 and receive their owne King as at this time. . . . I know, Madam, there is little need of laying these things before you, since noe-body sees more clearly into all these matters, nor endeavours more to redress them than yourself. Our want of copper is very great, that thing alone being our support as to the payment of our army, . . . for not a farthing of silver or gold is now to be seen in this whole nation. . . . I pray, Madam, let 50 tons of copper be sent us (besides the 40 tons a-coming) before the end of March . . . and 10 tons of steel for we begin now to make fire-arms. . . . Your Majesty cannot choose but be soe very knowing in all these kind of affairs that I believe the King needs no other factor there than yourself. . . . Pray God preserve you and your Son."

The Queen's entreaties had prevailed with Louis XIV, and he determined to send the Comte de Lauzun with troops, arms and men to Ireland. The Venetian envoy announces that he is to replace General de Rosen in the chief command, "and d'Avaux, Ambassador from this Court, is to come back, as it is believed that Lauzun will have more influence with the King of England and greater freedom of action. Eleven battalions are on their way to Brest and Mylord Melfort has embarked at Marseilles, and must now be near Rome, from whence the Queen expects some remarkable assistance."

PIETRO VENIER TO VENETIAN SENATE.

"21 *December* 1689.

Archives, Venice "In Ireland matters are progressing with better fortune, the King having recovered Sligo, with no small loss to Schomberg. From London comes news that a portrait of Orange in the Guildhall with the crown and sceptre, has been disfigured, and those emblems cut away. In a disquieted populace malcontents are never lacking, but the favour of Parliament and the foreign forces that Prince has in hand are his safeguards."

"28 *December* 1689.

". . . . Things look better in Ireland; the King is at the head of 25,000 men and master of the greater part of the country. The Comte de Lauzun has not yet started; he is ready at Brest with several regiments. Both armies in Ireland have gone into winter quarters."

Mary Beatrice sent a long memoir to the new Pope through Lord Melfort, exposing the King's necessities. After describing the recent successes over Schomberg, she adds :—"The state of His Majesty's affairs shows clearly that with assistance proportionate to his needs, he is in a condition not only to maintain himself where he is, but, taking advantage of the disorders which are now very great in England and Scotland, he may push his interests there, even to his re-establishment, in view of the great change in the spirit of the people. Your Holiness can give him this help in two ways. The first is a sum of money to supply his pressing needs . . . the other help which the Queen solicits from Your Holiness is yet greater and more certain, but at the same time more distant. It is to obtain peace among the Catholic Princes, which would make it impossible for the usurper to retain the King's dominions, for not only would the Most Christian King have his hands set free, but the other Princes, solicited by Your Holiness and by sentiments of piety and religion would give the King their aid, which reasons of State have hitherto prevented them from doing, though strongly urged thereto by His Majesty. . . ." 1689 Vatican Archives

At this period we first find Eusèbe Renaudot employed as the secret agent of the French Court with the English Jacobite party. Well known as a theological writer and a distinguished Orientalist,[1] his political career remained a secret buried in the large collection of his papers in the MS. room at the Bibliothèque Nationale, until the Marchesa Campana de Cavelli discovered them. In a paper written to one of the French Ministers he says of himself :—"Shortly after the present Revolution I began to be employed in English affairs by the late Marquis of Seigneley. He ordered me to keep up certain correspondences ; he often made me write instructions and memoirs, send messengers, and was always well content with what I did. The Queen of England, who was then alone at St. Germains, often expressed the like satisfaction, and used always to send me her letters to give an account of them.

[1] His chief work was the *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio.*

1690 Mylord Melfort was then in Italy, but as soon as he returned he obliged those who had written to us to address themselves solely to him ; several thereupon broke off all correspondence, and we only saw extracts from letters of which we had formerly seen the originals."

Renaudot seems to have spent some weeks in England in 1689, as there are letters from him to the French Court giving interesting accounts of the unrest and discontent in that country and the great chances of success he considered James II would have if he landed there. "A strong cabal existed in his favour, and at the same time to save the established Church of England from utter ruin. The Prince of Orange is hated by the greater number of those who had some inclination towards him, and all recognise that the success of his enterprise was more the effect of hazard than of his virtues. In a word, they speak of him with as much disdain as they formerly did of Cromwell. . . .

Bib. Nat. Coll. Renaudot, Nouv. Aeq. 7487–7492

"There has been high play at Newmarket. The Prince of Orange having lost 1,000 guineas, was in so bad a temper that no one would play with him. His ill-humour was much increased by the news of the seizure of several vessels loaded with arms at the mouth of the Rhône, which he was sending to the Vaudois. . . . The Earl of Oxford, who had been given 1,000 pieces to start immediately to join the army in Ireland, lost 500 of them the same night at play at Madame de Mazarin's. . . ."

The new year broke hopefully to the Queen, Louis XIV went to St. Germains to announce to her the nomination of further troops for Ireland, and to tell her of Marshal Schomberg's illness. "The squadron which is ready to convey the expedition," writes Rizzini to the Duke of Modena, 15 February, 1690, "consists of thirty-five men-of-war under d'Amfreville, and the Comte de Lauzun is to take leave of the King to-day at Marly. . . . The provisions of every kind are most copious—besides considerable funds of money—grain, stores of food, brandy and munitions of war, cannon and clothing for 40,000 men. . . ."

In March, the Queen had a moment of terrible alarm about her son. "Yesterday," writes Melani to Abbé Gondi, "the Prince of Wales was taken for dead. Being of a most vivacious temperament, he was seized with such passion at being denied something he desired, that he fell into convulsions, and for half an hour gave no signs of life." Rizzini added that when the Queen saw him thus she fainted. 1690

RENAUDOT TO ABBÉ GONDI, FLORENCE.

"PARIS, 13 *March*, 1690.

". . . . The Queen of England has received two expresses from England confirming the Prince of Orange's prohibition of all commerce by letter with France, which makes the merchants murmur and causes discontent. . . . From Ireland we hear that a detachment of Schomberg's army has been routed by the King's troops, who have driven them to Inniskilling. . . ."

RIZZINI TO DUKE OF MODENA.

"PARIS, 5 *April*, 1690.

". . . . The Queen lately sent letters to several persons in England by two messengers; one of them was a youth named Fowler [Fuller], formerly page to Mylord Melfort, who had proposed and recommended him to Her Majesty. As soon as he arrived in London he took his letters to the Prince of Orange, and denounced his companion, who was taken with the remaining letters. . . . Also a man of the name of Prancour (*sic*) a German, who had been choirmaster in the King's chapel at Whitehall and dismissed for misconduct, having gone to Ireland was received into favour again by His Majesty and appointed Governor of some place there. . . . He was sent into France with letters, and arrived nearly two months late; now I hear he has been sent to the Bastille, also that the Most Christian King was so anxious to hear of his arrest, that he ordered the news to be brought to him at any time, even if he was asleep in bed, which was done at three o'clock in the morning."

The above instances might be multiplied of that easy confidence which the natural dispositions of both James II and Mary Beatrice led them into, and which was singularly

1690 unfitted for the atmosphere of intrigue, plot and counterplot, suspicion and jealousy which reigned in their exiled Court. Ronchi had lamented over their unsuspicious open confidence as one of their greatest dangers at the time of Titus Oates. Renaudot blames what he calls their "*facilité*," and even the nuns at Chaillot, within a few years of her death, more than once respectfully remonstrated with the Queen on her too easy belief in all who approached her. "Your Majesty thinks well of everybody, and does not beware of hypocrites. . . ." "It is true," replied the Queen; "I cannot suspect evil, and I have not the spirit of Court intrigue." St. Germains, under these conditions, was a safe and easy hunting-ground for spies, and during the thirty years of its occupation by the Stuarts there was never a time when the English Court was not immediately and fully informed of all that was going on, in spite of the elaborate systems of secrecy always in use there.

The Queen about this time entered into negotiations with Sir James Montgomery, who, with Lord Annandale and Lord Ross, known as the "Trefoil," had entered into a plot for the restoration of the King. They went from Edinburgh to London to offer their services to James through Lord Arran, son of the Duke of Hamilton, then in the Tower, who put them into communication with Lord Clarendon, with several suspended Bishops, and others, including the Duke of Queensberry, the Marquis of Athol, Lord Tarbet, and Lord Breadalbane. They sent a man of the name of Simson, *alias* Jones, to Paris, and the first of two letters of the Queen to Sir James Montgomery, which have been preserved, is dated 25 March, 1690, and the impression of her seal, known as the "Diamond Seal," remains entire upon it.

Leven and Melville Papers, Edinburgh, 1843, p. 479

"Since my last, which I hope you will have received long before this, I have seen Mr Jones . . . and heard with a great deal of plaisur all he had to say, in which there is nothing more satisfactory to me than my being, from many circumstances, fullie persuaded that I have to do with men of honor, who, notwithstanding the consent the King may give to what is demanded of him, will be as

tender of giving away what so entirely belongs to him, as he himselfe could be; . . . and though I have endeavoured by my letters to convince the King, that to enable you to serve him, it is necessary he should condescend to what is proposed (as far as he can in conscience do, for I would not, for all the world, see him go the least step beyond it) yet I doe confidently expect, and entirely relye upon, your good husbandry of what you well know is so valuable, for its being so absolutely necessary both to a king and his ministers, in the government of a people so inclined to trouble and change as you are in. . . . I have consulted our friend here, who is very well satisfied, and will do his part in performing what is required of him. I relye intirely both upon your serving the King, and preserving him that power which really makes him so; and tho I doe once more heartily recommend it to you, yet don't in the least doubt of you, but firmly believe you will acte like men of honor in the performance of this great and good worke, which once don will make us all happy, and put me in a condition of shewing you and all the world the esteem I have of you, and of making good the assurances I have sent you by Mr Jones, to whom I referre myself, hoping he will be with you soon after this. 1690

MARIA R."

A few days later the Queen wrote to Tyrconnel :—

"ST GERMAINS. *April* 5. 1690.

"This is my third letter since I heard from you, but shall not make it a long one, for the bearer of it [Lord Dover?] knows a great deel of my mind, or rather all the thoughts of my heart, for I was so overjoyed to meet with one I durst speake freely to, that I opened my heart to him, and sayd mor than I am like to do again in haste to anybody, I therfor refer myself to him to tell you all wee spoke off, for I have no secrets from you; one thing only I must beg of you, to have a care of the King, and not lett him be too much encouraged by the good news he will hear, for I dread nothing at this time, but his going to fast into England, and in a manner dangerous, and uncertain for himself, and disadvantageous to those of our persuasion; I have writt an unreasonable long letter to him to tell him my mynd, and have sayd much to Lord Dover to say to him, ... Pray putt him often in mynd of beeing carefull of his person, if not for his owne sake, for mine, my sonnes, and all our friends that are undon, if anything amiss happenes to him. I dare not lett myself go upon this subject, I am to full of it; I know you love the King. I am sure "Autographs of Illustrious Women," Nethercliff, London, 1838

1690 you are my friend, and therefor I need say the lesse to you, but cannot end my letter without telling you, that I never in my life had a truer, nor a more sincere friendship for anybody than I have for you.

M. R."

Louis XIV had exacted an equivalent for the French force he sent to James II, in the shape of six or seven thousand of his best Irish troops, which, Renaudot states, were brought back in the squadron which had taken Lauzun and his force to Cork.

The Queen's next letter to Sir James Montgomery is dated 1 May, 1690:—

Leven and Melville Papers

"Tho I hope you will have had two of my letters long before this, and that I think it very possible for Mr Jones to be with you by this time, . . . yet I resolve to writt to you again, thinking it necessary that you should know what I have don here in your affaire; and full as necessary that you should lett me know how it goes on with you. I am therefor a sending this bearer to you, to whose honesty, as well as memory you can trust intirely, for I have had experience of both; and it is very convenient to make him learn all by heart when one dares not give him letters.

I hope Mr Jones will have brought you satisfaction from that syde where he was last [Ireland] and from this I send you all that the care and industry of a willing person could gett for you, from one [Louis XIV] who is now upon the necessity of defending himself against all the world; therefor you must not wonder if you gett not at present so much as you deserve, nor I fear so much as you want; but pray believe that it was not possible to gett mor at this very time, or I would have gott it, and make this goe as far as you can.

In the first place I have sent orders to the other syde of the water [England or Scotland] to have £5,000 ready for you whenever you shall send for it to your friends there, or to a friend I have sent thither, whose name this bearer has order to tell you. . . .

Besides the five thousand pounds on the other syde, which I will endeavour to make ten thousand in a short time, if you shall want it; I have ready ten thousand pounds more with as many arms and ammunition as this great friend could spare for you, at this nick of time, which he gives you most heartily, and will be ready to give more hereafter, if this prove not sufficient. . . .

By the last letters I receaved, I find you have already begun to doe

your parts, and long to know what successe you have had in the first attempt; . . . and above all it is necessary you let me know, as soon as ever you have declared yourselves, to which place you will have me send this succor, that will be ready shipt for you at Dunkirke, but cannot be sent till you are ready for it, and till I know where it may be landed with safety. All therfore that is to be don at this time depends on your syde for on mine I shall not lose a moment in sending to you, after I hear from you, and when all things are ripe with you, and well disposed on the other syde; then this friend has promised to send over our great friend [James II] when I hope he will soon be in a condition of rewarding those that have had the first and greatest part in making him happy. . . . 1690

MARIA R."

William III started from London for Ireland $\frac{4}{14}$ June, leaving Queen Mary Regent, and landed at Belfast $\frac{14}{24}$. The plan of the Montgomery plot was that a French fleet should prevent the conjunction of the English and Dutch fleets, and prevent William's return from Ireland, and as the greater part of the English troops were in that country and the flower of the remainder in Flanders, leaving but some seven thousand in England, their project might have been successfully carried through if unity could have been maintained among the confederates. Unfortunately for the Stuart cause the "Trefoil" obtained from James, who was ignorant of their arrangements with the Queen, procurations bestowing all the honours and emoluments upon themselves, and authorising them to call a Parliament in Scotland with Lord Annandale as his Commissioner. They forgot their friends, and especially Lord Arran, getting him nothing but a pardon for his father, the Duke of Hamilton. These complained of James's ingratitude and imprudence, and broke off alliance with the "Trefoil," who in alarm hastened to London, after handing Queen Mary Beatrice's letters to Montgomery to Lord Melville, the English Commissioner in Scotland, who in William III's absence forwarded them to Queen Mary. Montgomery and Lord Ross refused to be witnesses in justice, but Lord Annandale declared everything and denounced all the confederates.

1690 Evelyn notes, "24th June. Din'd with Mr Pepys, who the next day was sent to the Gate House (accused of having sent information to the French Court of the state of the English Navy) and severall great persons to the Tower, on suspicion of being affected to King James ; amongst them was the Earl of Clarendon, the Queen's uncle."

The Lords Yarmouth, Griffin and Castlemaine were sent to the Tower, and a proclamation was soon made against Lords Litchfield, Preston, and Bellasys, Sir Edward Hales, Captain Lloyd and others. Louis XIV, at Lord Melfort's request, sent Jones-Simson to the Bastille, though Renaudot and the French ministers seem to have remained convinced of his good faith.

Meanwhile the little Prince of Wales had attained the completion of the second year of his life, and all the English lords and ladies in Paris, writes Ronchi to the Duke of Modena, "came to congratulate the Queen. There were divers amusements and in the evening a ball at this Court [St. Germains]; the inhabitants of the town made many bonfires and sent off fireworks in honour of the Prince. . . .

"Her Majesty has received letters from the King, who was on the point of taking the field with 20,000 men, having given the command of 15,000 others to his Generals, who will go where they are needed ; all the King's men are in excellent condition, especially the Cavalry, which is said to be finer than any His Majesty had in England."

ABBÉ MELANI TO ABBÉ GONDI, FLORENCE.

"PARIS, 26 *June*. 1690.

. . . It is greatly feared that King James will meet with the same misfortune which overtook him in England, and that in Ireland he may find himself abandoned by the greater part of his army, having there also made himself an object of compassion and scorn. He is always hoping to be recalled by the English and treats them better than he does the Irish, who have always been faithful ; this has a bad effect upon the Earl of Tyrconnel and the other Irish magnates. . . ."

COMTE DE LAUZUN TO MARQUIS DE SEIGNELEY 1690

"CAMP near DARDEE, 4 *July* 1690."

The letter begins with regrets that no French squadron was in St George's Channel as it would have been most useful in cutting off transports and perhaps William himself :—

> "He landed the 24 of last month at Belfast. He has an army of 40,000 men as I am assured by five Captains whom we took in an ambush. . . . We are barely eight hours apart, and I think to-morrow we shall be much nearer. . . . it is very difficult to take up a defensive position as there are neither strongholds nor rivers. So it will not be easy to avoid engagements . . . as he has 3,000 more horse than we. I shall, however, do my utmost to avoid decisive action . . . but I have not the choice of position . . . through the want of supplies, which affects our side only, as the Prince of Orange with an open sea and his vessels which keep in touch with his camp and furnish it with abundance, is free to do what he pleases. He landed with none but his Dutch guard, the others having arrived before him. He had a great many English Lords on his ship, including the Prince of Denmark, the Duke of Ormonde, the Earl of Oxford. . . . If you could see this place as closely as I do, I think you would be convinced of the necessity of sending reinforcements ; with the little we have it is impossible to resist both at land and at sea, especially having to do with the Prince of Orange who means to carry it roundly. . . ."

The battle of the Boyne was fought $\frac{1}{10}$ July. "The Duke of Berwick," writes the author of his life, "the Duke of Tyrconnel and the Comte de Lauzun did all that could be expected from the ablest of Generals, but all their force, with the exception of the French troops, were raw militia and levies, incapable of withstanding the shock of an army consisting entirely of seasoned troops."

James II arrived at St. Germains, July 25, after an absence of seventeen months. The Queen met him a little beyond Poissy, the Prince of Wales receiving him in the Guard-room of St. Germains "and had his lesson so well taught him, that he asked him blessing . . . and behaved like a man, which made the Queen cry for joy." "All Versailles and Paris are astonished," writes Madame de Sévigné, "at the return of that

Weldon's Life of James II. Add. MSS. 10,118

1690 poor King of England. Ours continues his generosities in a heroic manner. No one knows exactly what happened in Ireland . . . . but I do not think I gained much honour by that battle. . . . The Prince of Orange is not dead, only M. de Schomberg. . . . People gave themselves up to demonstrations of joy [at the report of William's death] which, as President Herault says, did great honour to that Prince." "The Prince of Orange," says the Gazette of 29 July, "was severely wounded in the shoulder by a cannon-ball,[1] and received another wound in the leg."

The Duke of Berwick, Lauzun and Tyrconnel remained in Ireland. The Queen wrote to Lauzun from St. Germains 13 August, 1690 :—

Alfred Morrison Collection

"I think you know me well enough to be able to judge of my grief at learning of our misfortunes in Ireland, because, although I apprehended it, and your last letters had prepared me, nevertheless, I still hoped a battle might have been avoided for the present, but God did not allow it, and we must will what He wills. I should have been inconsolable if, when hearing news of the battle I had not at the same time heard that the King was safe on this side of the water; I owe that happiness to you, and it is assuredly a great one in the midst of my grief. You have been faithful to the promise you made me at parting, that whatever happened you would save the King; you did so, remaining yourself in danger (from which I pray God to deliver you.) Without seeing into my heart, you could not judge of my gratitude, for it is beyond what I can express. I shall try to prove it to you and to the world by my actions, and I have only too many occasions of doing so in protecting you from an infinite number of enemies who have now risen against you, and seek nothing so much as your ruin. The King and I employ ourselves daily in justifying your conduct, which has been faultless, and too perfect for the rest of the French, whom it has put to shame; I hear there are some among them cowardly enough to justify their own ill-conduct, by accusing yours. I shall uphold it with all my force; I owe so much to justice and to yourself, for whom, whatever I do, I shall never do half as much as you deserve.

The King of France told us the other day he thought you were

[1] The wound was not severe; after it had been dressed, William remained for four hours on the field.

on your homeward journey with the troops, as he had sent you positive orders to return; it is not necessary, therefore, that I write you a longer letter, moreover the King has written to you, and mylord Tyrconnel will tell you the orders the King has sent him. . . In the pitiable state of affairs in Ireland, I ask no better than to see you safely here again, and to have your advice in all our business, which is truly in a desperate condition. No one here believes a word we say, nor will listen to our proposals for a descent into England before the Prince of Orange returns there, nor for sending ships into St. George's Channel, which is the most necessary thing in the world, and which nevertheless has been refused for the last six months. 1690

In fine there is no remedy for us at present but to be patient if we can, at any rate I pray God make us so. My heart bleeds to see that we are the cause of the loss and ruin of so many honest men; if ever we were the cause of yours I should never console myself; but I hope that misfortune may not be added to many others, and I flatter myself that I may yet be happy enough to repair your losses (which are as sensible to me as my own) and to recompense your services. . . . "

CHAPTER X

1690 THE defeat of the Boyne, the death of Lord Dundee,[1] and the King's return from Ireland, had not entirely destroyed hopes which the victory of de Tourville over the English and Dutch fleets at Beachy Head, $\frac{1}{10}$ July, helped to sustain. The Queen wrote to the French Admiral before the news of the Boyne had reached her :—"If we are so fortunate as to return to our country I shall always consider that you were the first to open the way to it; for it was effectually shut against us before the success of this engagement, to which your good conduct has contributed so much. But if I do not deceive myself, it appears to me now to be completely open, provided the King could gain some little time in Ireland, which I hope he will, but I tremble with fear lest the Prince of Orange, who sees clearly that it is his interest so to do, should push the King, and force him to give battle."

In Ireland the case was not considered desperate, to judge by Lauzun's reports to the Marquis de Seigneley. He and Tyrconnel had gone to the relief of Limerick, and he writes, 7 September :—

Ministère de la Guerre

"The siege of Limerick is raised. The enemy are leaving the trenches . . . and firing a few cannon to cover their retreat, which they are making in pretty good order . . . The Prince of Orange is leaving for Dublin, and thence for England, much vexed at his ill-success, and I see by the number of dead and dying that he must have lost some 1500 men in this last affair . . . The siege lasted

[1] "Oh, last and best of Scots! who didst maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign.
New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
New gods the temples, and new kings the throne."
Dryden's translation of Pitcairn's epitaph.

twenty-two days, during which the garrison never had a mouthful of bread, only barley and oatmeal, which some of the soldiers' wives made into cakes. There was no regular hospital nor surgeon. The badly wounded men retired to die without a murmur. I never saw soldiers so ready to endure. As to our Frenchmen, it was impossible to make them suffer the like, which prevented my leaving any French there, which I regretted, but they would have perished, as I had no bread to give them . . . Without your ships, and the merchantmen with wheat, the Prince of Orange would have been master of Ireland without losing a man, and would not have the shame of raising a siege, which will at least diminish his glory, and leaves Ireland in a condition to defend herself until the Spring, having Corg [Cork] Kinsale, Limerick, Sligo and Athlone, with nearly as many troops as we had at Drogheda. . . If nothing rash is attempted this winter, as at the beginning of the campaign . . Ireland is saved, and our affairs will have taken a good turn, after a misfortune which reduced matters to a state hardly to be believed . . ." 1690

"GALLOWAY, 13 *September* 1690.

The Duke of Tyrconnel having resolved to pass into France, considering Ireland safe until the Spring, he will take measures with the King of England for the maintenance of the kingdom. He has established a Regency for the Government during his absence, the command of the forces being left to the Duke of Berwick, on condition that he undertake nothing without the consent of four persons —Mylord Clare, Mylord Galway, Sarsfield and Maxwell, and a fifth whom I had forgotten, Sheldon . . . Mylord Churchill is to land at Cork with eight battalions . . . "

Ronchi had written to the Duke of Modena a few days previously :—

" . . . The Duke of Tyrconnel agrees very well with the Comte de Lauzun ; but the other French and Irish do not follow the example of their chiefs, the latter do not look favourably on the French, who, they say, will take all the glory of having saved them, which will be a dishonour to their nation."

The Queen, who had laboured indefatigably all the time of her husband's absence, acting as his " factor," as Tyrconnel expressed it, keeping up negotiations with England and Scotland, constantly in communication with Louis XIV and his ministers,

1690 and supplicating Rome to obtain subsidies from the Holy See, had displayed qualities of business and statecraft which caused Melfort, on his return to Paris, to write to the King :—

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

> "I confess I never saw any one understand affairs better than the Queen, and she has really gained so much esteem from the King here and his Ministers, that I am truly of opinion, that if it had not been for her, the wicked reports spread here had made your affairs go entirely wrong at the Court."

The return of James from the Irish expedition set the Queen free, and there is a characteristic letter of hers about this time to one of the Chaillot nuns, Sister Françoise Angélique Priolo, daughter of a noble Venetian, who had taken service in France with the Duke of Longueville. The Queen became attached to her at once, and she was one of the three Angéliques, the other two being Claire Angélique de Beauvais and Catherine Angélique de Mesme, to whom the Queen often sends greetings in her letters, and who attended her when she stayed at the Convent. Angélique Priolo was several times Superior.

"St Germains. *Tuesday.*

Chaillot MSS. Archives Nationales

> "It is certain, dear Mother, that I have had great visits to make and to receive. I shall conclude them to-morrow . . . and I hope that we shall then have a little repose together next week ; in truth I need it both for soul and body. What you say of that repose in your last letter is admirable, but it seems to me that the more I seek for it, the less I find it. It may be, perhaps, that I seek it with too much anxiety, or rather that I search for it where it is not ; yet all the while I am convinced that it is to be found in God alone, and I do not appear even to wish to find it out of Him. . . "

Thus, in the midst of many labours, Mary Beatrice failed not in the building up of that "inner citadel" against which the persistent fury of adverse circumstances was to beat in vain.

Louis XIV, discouraged by the failure of the Irish expedition, hampered by his several wars, turned a deaf ear to the prayers of James and his Queen for further help, but continued to treat them with magnificent hospitality. Ronchi

writes to Modena, 4 October, 1690:—"Their Majesties are going to Fontainebleau, invited by the Most Christian King for five or six days' hunting." While there, Mary Beatrice knelt between the two Kings at Mass, a position she occupied on all occasions. 1690

The day of her arrival the Queen wrote to the Superior of Chaillot, accepting the invitation of the nuns to become the *protectrice* or patroness of their monastery:—

> ". . . . You are good enough to wish to place me at your head, but I can say with truth that my greatest ambition, and the strongest desire I ever had in my life, was to be one of the least among the daughters of the Visitation; though it did not please God to grant me that grace, which would have been a benefit to myself alone, He now gives me that of being able to procure the good of the whole institute . . . "

A MS. journal preserved at the Rouen convent of the order written by the Superior, Mère Croiset, who had been a confidant of the Queen at Chaillot, gives the date of the beginning of her relations there as the first Monday in Lent, 1689, when she sent the Comte de Lauzun to ask for a corner, and to be looked on as a "fille de Ste Marie." The plans still preserved in the Archives Nationales give an idea of the size and importance of this monastery, one of the greatest in France, with its high-domed church and vast extent of gardens, farm and vineyards on the wooded slope of the picturesque heights of Chaillot, looking down upon Paris and the surrounding country. Catherine de Medici had built herself a country house upon the spot, and the famous Maréchal de Bassompierre had, in his turn, erected an abode filled with every luxury which art and nature could furnish. Anthony Hamilton, writing some fourteen years later, asks:—

> "Par quel bizarre enchantement
> La maison de feu Bassompierre,
> Cet homme jadis si galant,
> Est-elle aujourd'hui le couvent
> Qui reçoit tout ce que la terre
> A de plus digne et de plus grand?

1690

La mère de ce roi charmant
Que, dans les dangers de la guerre,
J'ai vu tranquille, indifférent ;
Et sa sœur, cet astre naissant,
Qui de la rebelle Angleterre
Sera quelque jour l'ornement."

The French King and his Court, Cardinals and Archbishops, were frequent visitors at the convent, which numbered among its members women bearing some of the greatest names of France—Montmorency, La Fayette, Ventadour, not forgetting Mary Beatrice's favourite countrywoman, the noble Venetian Priolo. The nuns seem to have piously carried out the precepts of their order in humility, poverty, and prayer, while the glimpses afforded us into their lives show them to have been women of culture, well versed in the questions of the day, in its politics and social life. Latin scholars, capable of understanding an oration in that tongue, their literary treasury, besides the works of their founder, St. Francis of Sales, had the good fortune to be furnished by the Massillons, Bourdaloues, and Bossuets, who were their contemporaries. The suite of apartments allotted to the Queen, and for which she paid an annual rent of 3,000 frs., had been splendidly decorated, and supplied with furniture belonging to the Crown, by Louis XIV's order.

Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library

The Court of St. Germains was now regularly organised. The Duke of Powis was Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Dumbarton Lord of the Bed-Chamber, Robert Strickland and Colonel Porter Vice-Chamberlains, Sir John Sparrow Board of Green Cloth, Fergus Graham Privy Treasurer, Colonel Skelton Comptroller, succeeded by John Stafford. Sir William Waldegrave was Physician-in-Ordinary ; Sir Roger Strickland, late Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Edward Hales and John and Francis Stafford were equerries. Count Molza of Modena and William Crane acted as equerries to the Queen on occasions of ceremony, and Countess Molza, a friend of her childhood, was one of her ladies-in-waiting. Francesco Riva, who

had taken so active a part in her escape from England, kept his office of Keeper of the Wardrobe; and Leybourn and Dufour, her former page, who had attended her on the same occasion, were made equerries. Of the four companions of James's flight, Labadie, his body-servant, Biddulph, Captain Macdonald (or Macdonnel), and Captain Trevanion, the three latter were appointed Grooms of the Chamber. 1690

The number of chaplains and confessors at St. Germains has been exaggerated—there were seven. Father Warner, S.J., the King's confessor, was afterwards replaced by Father Sanders, also a Jesuit, who wrote a biography of the King. Father Ruga, S.J., was confessor to the Queen, succeeded at his death by Father Gaillard, who retained the office during the rest of Mary Beatrice's lifetime. The chaplains were White, Gully, Sabran, and Giacomo Ronchi, whose correspondence with the Court of Modena we have often drawn upon. Abbé Lewis Innes, Rector of the Scotch College in Paris, was chaplain to the Queen. The Prince of Wales's household consisted of the Duchess of Powis, governess, succeeded at her death by the Countess of Erroll, and Lady Strickland, sub-governess.

The Earl of Melfort was head of James's first Cabinet, and was succeeded by Charles, Earl of Middleton and Monmouth, the chief of the Protestants, who followed their King into exile. The three Secretaries of State until 1695 were Brown, brother of Lord Montacute, for England; Abbé Innes, for Scotland; and Sir Richard Neagle (who had served James in Ireland as Attorney-General and Secretary of State for War), for Ireland. Caryll, the Queen's former secretary, afterwards Lord Caryll, was Secretary of State at St. Germains; his nephew became secretary to the Queen, and succeeded to the title. The Marquis d'Albeville, ex-English ambassador in Holland, also lived at St. Germains, a kind of minister *sans portefeuille*. In the Queen's declining years John Stafford and Nicolas Dempster were her secretaries.

The Court of St. Germains encouraged the arts; as Mary Beatrice had protected the painter Gennari in London, so now

1690 the protraitists Mignard, Rigaud, and Largillière were employed by her and the King. Lords Perth and Middleton were men of letters and good writers, and the elder Caryll was distinguished for his literary talents, his nephew, a poet himself, being the intimate friend of Dryden and Pope. But perhaps the most brilliant ornament of the exiled Court was Anthony Hamilton, whose memoirs of his brother-in-law, the Comte de Gramont, have made him famous. Voltaire describes him :—

" . . . Le vif Hamilton,
Toujours armé d'un trait qui blesse,
Médisant de l'humaine espèce,
Et même d'un peu mieux, dit-on."

Hamilton's inequality of humour and proneness to "médisance" somewhat detract from the weight of his authority. When, as he says of himself, "My soul was filled with a thousand sombre vapours . . . my ill-humour had not left me, and I was ready to find fault with everything"; he peoples the palace and the park of St. Germains with none but hypocrites and villains. He spares the fair sex, whom he calls "Jacobite nymphs," but imagines them surrounded by a phalanx of thirty or forty black-robed priests and religious, whereas we have Nairne's authority that their number was seven. In a happier mood, he writes of "Middleton, honoured by all the world," of Berwick, the two Carylls, and of Skelton :—

" Skelton, prends en main ton verre,
. . . . . .
Tu boiras, comme je bois
Au plus aimable des rois."

Among the ladies who shone at Mary Beatrice's Court, none was more beautiful than "la belle Jennings," Duchess of Tyrconnel, sister of a more famous Jennings, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Hamilton cites her as a very heroine, and a marvel of beauty and prudence, resisting the advances of the Duke of York, and of Charles II himself, refusing Dick Talbot, afterwards Lord and Duke of Tyrconnel, reputed the

handsomest man in England, for Sir George Hamilton, the lover of her youth. He died young, and she then married Tyrconnel as his second wife. She lived through all the vicissitudes of the exiled Court, and died in Dublin, at the venerable age of ninety-two. The Countess of Erroll was styled by the Queen an "ideal of perfection"; Lady Melfort kept up at St. Germains the reputation for beauty she had acquired in London; and Lady Sophia Bulkeley, one of the Queen's oldest ladies, was sister of the beautiful Stewart whose charms had dazzled Charles II, and her daughter Anne, Hamilton's "belle Nanette," was to marry the Duke of Berwick as his second wife. 1691

Among the men, the Dillons, Nugents, Bulkeleys, Murrays, Hamiltons, MacMahons, offered their swords to France, so as not to be a burden on their own King, and the Duke of Berwick was to die a Marshal of France, at the siege of Philipsbourg.

As the Queen's secretary, Coleman, had been the first victim of Titus Oates, so now the first Jacobite to be executed for attempting to restore the King was another of her servants, Richard Ashton, clerk of her Closet. Late in 1690 he had attended a meeting of Protestant Jacobites, at which it was resolved to invite Louis XIV forcibly to restore King James. Richard Graham, Viscount Preston, was arrested at the same time, and condemned to death, but saved himself by informing against Lords Clarendon and Dartmouth, Turner, Bishop of Ely, and William Penn as his accomplices. Ashton refused to betray his friends, and was hanged at Tyburn, 28 January, 1691. He died declaring himself a Protestant, and happy to lose his life for James II, from whom he had received favours for sixteen years.

Renaudot, who somewhere complains pathetically of being put into communication with "many mean men, women, and lunatics," was the channel of correspondence between the French Court and the English Protestant Jacobites. These negotiations were often carried on without the consent of the

1691 Court of St. Germains, and were the cause of no little friction, jealousy, and counter agitations. Renaudot drew up a Memoir for a French Minister (probably Pontchartrain) "on the reasons of the ill-success of the efforts made for the restoration of the King of England :—

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

"1st. That too much credence was given to certain Englishmen, who wished to be entire masters of the confidence of the King and Queen, and who promised more than they could perform.

"2nd. That when, upon the advice of these persons, a project had been formed, all confidence was refused to others, and everything coming from them rejected with scorn.

"3rd. That several persons were even subjected to the gravest perils, and that the death of the late Lord (*sic*) Ashton may be attributed to the same causes, consequently others are discouraged.

"4th. Too much trust has been placed in men who had no credit in the country, and even less capacity for the conduct of such affairs.

"5th. Too much distrust has been and still is shown of the Presbyterians, and those who were concerned in the Rebellion.

"6th. Lastly, that the Council of St. Germains has not only lost the confidence of some of the best heads in England, but has become so suspicious to them that they will have no more to do with it ; the more so that they know by experience that particular enmities have caused all they proposed to be rejected, although it was admitted that they were capable of doing great good, as they had hithertofore done great harm. This last article touches them the more nearly now that they know that the confidence of the Council of St. Germains in the King [Louis XIV] and his ministers is no longer what it was, that many matters are concealed from them, others only superficially made known, and no opportunity given them to second the plans formed at St. Germains, to judge of the truth and weight of the advices from England, or to know their chief authors and thus prevent several false steps, of which the

Prince of Orange very well knew how to avail himself. . . . 1691
Men have been sent to the Bastille for no fault but that their reproaches and presence were feared, while no effort is made to discover the spies of the Prince of Orange, who certainly has spies at St. Germains, as everything coming from that quarter is instantly known, whereas anything which has passed through our Ministers has been kept very secret. . . . That Court has been so often mistaken in its judgments on the fidelity of some, and the infidelity of others, that there is no risk in not deferring blindly to it."[1]

While the movements of William III were being anxiously watched, the affairs of her native land and her own interests there were the cause of trouble to the Queen. Louis XIV had armies at this time on the Rhine and in Piedmont, as well as in Flanders, and Mary Beatrice foresaw with dread that Italy was to be one of the scenes of the struggle between France and Austria. Writing to the Duke of Modena, and to Prince Cesare d'Este, in May, Rizzini in cyphered letters describes her extreme agitation of mind at learning that the Dukes of Tuscany and Parma, the Genoese and others had refused every kind of contribution to the Emperor, and at the failure of her own negotiations between Louis XIV and the Duke of Mantua. "It appears to Her Majesty of the utmost moment that the Princes of Italy should unite for their common defence, when it seems probable that more German troops will be sent into the country, especially as such measures can be taken so secretly as not to be discovered; and even should Austria become aware of them, she could not take offence, as it is a question of neutrality and of preserving peace against aggressions from either side."

The question of her own interests was always an unpleasant one to the Queen's generous nature; of her marriage portion, which should have been entirely paid within two years of her

[1] Evelyn records:—"19 April 1691. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Gloucester and the rest who would not take the oaths to King William were now displaced, and in their rooms Dr. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, was made Archbishop."

1691 marriage, a great part was still owing. Her affection for her brother, and her own wealthy condition during the fifteen years of her life in England, had restrained her from insisting upon her claims, but now things were altered, and it became a matter of necessity that the money should be paid. The Duke of Modena had been seriously ill, so it is to Prince Cesare, again all-powerful over his young cousin, that Rizzini writes at the Queen's command :—"What is more urgent still for Her Majesty is to make known the necessity she is under of applying for the payment of some part of the dowry still owing to her. I did not fail to represent the exigencies of the present moment, and the small use of union among the princes, unless it can be fortified with arms, and that troops cannot be raised without intolerable expense ; but Her Majesty decided that I should write in cypher to express her sentiments on the subject, and she will write with her own hand to His Serene Highness . . ."

Both James II and Mary Beatrice continued to urge Louis XIV to help the royal forces in Ireland, and Rizzini reports in July not only that the recovery of the Duke of Modena's health is what lies closest to the Queen's heart, but that she showed some relief of mind—not that affairs in Ireland were going any better, but that the French King shows himself determined to continue his assistance to the faithful Irish, the more so that they have shown great courage and constancy in the late engagements, although with their usual ill-fortune.

As for Tyrconnel, he will indubitably be recalled, the hatred aroused against him, though perhaps undeserved, being general there.

"20 *August* 1691.

". . . I was with the Queen on Saturday, and found her recovered from her indisposition, but greatly afflicted at the bad state of Irish affairs, news having arrived that Galloway has succumbed to the rebels, but without any particulars . . . numerous letters from England and Holland say no more than that the capitulation was on honourable terms . . . "

On a separate sheet :— 1691

"The loss of the last battle in Ireland carries with it the loss of the kingdom . . . for little is hoped from the resistance of Limerick, owing to the lack of supplies and ammunition . . . All the news comes by way of England and Holland, without notice of any particularity except that the Princess of Orange forbade the lighting of bonfires in London, saying that it was not becoming to rejoice at victories gained over her own subjects. . . ."

Two days after the above letter was written, Tyrconnel, worn out with toil and sickness, died in Ireland, 22 August, 1691.

Meanwhile, the correspondence with England, both from St. Germains and Versailles, went on unflaggingly. A packet of Godolphin's letters to the Queen was intercepted, and handed to William III, who contented himself with showing it to Godolphin, at the same time forgiving him, and continuing to employ him. Lord Marlborough also entered into negotiations with St. Germains, and there are numerous letters extant in which the Queen figures as Mrs. Wisely or Mrs. Whiteley, James II as Artley, Godolphin as "Bale of Goods," Marlborough as "Hamburg Merchant" or Armsworth; and Renaudot supplies the French Court with detailed accounts of the general disposition of the English counties from his correspondents—"persons having special knowledge thereof" :—

"Gloucestershire. The people and nobility generally well-disposed for the King, as the Duke of Beaufort and the Marquis of Worcester, his son, who have great authority in that county, have declared; also Mylord Newburgh. The same in Lincolnshire, on the report of the Earl of Lindsay; Cheshire and Wales also, according to the Earl of Macclesfield. In Somersetshire and Devonshire the credit of Mylord Paulet, Mylord Mohun, and Sir Hanwell Tent can be relied upon. Exeter was attached to the King. The Bishop, Mylord Arundel, Irvine, Sir John Trelawny and M. Godolphin may be trusted here. Cornwall: The general dispositions of the whole county are favourable. Mr. Kempe promises to bring the tin-

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

1691 miners to the number of 7,000, and only asks for officers to lead them. Bristol and all the neighbourhood are well disposed. Sir John Knight has the greatest authority there, and is a zealous servant of the King, as are also Sir Richard Hart and Dr. Levet, Dean. In general the dispositions are considered good in Pembrokeshire, and in North and South Wales, but we have no particulars. In Northumberland, Norfolk, Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, the greater part of the nobility and people are for the King, and in the other counties the chief of the nobility are nearly all of the same sentiment. . . ."

If the royal prospects in England appeared to brighten, affairs in Ireland were hastening to the capitulation of Limerick and the arrival in France of the remnant of the faithful troops.

Donna Vittoria, Countess of Almond, writes to the Duke of Modena, November 7, 1691 :—"The Irish news will have reached you, and worse may be expected ; if all the troops and officers who have declared for the King come here, they will form a considerable corps to suffer greatly, while awaiting some favourable enterprise. . . ."

Two happy circumstances compensated the Queen in some measure for the failure in Ireland ; first, the news that Francesco II was about to marry Princess Margherita of Parma. "Her continued prayers have been heard, and her desires accomplished, seeing you the husband of a most worthy and accomplished Princess," are the words in which Donna Vittoria conveys her mistress's congratulations to the Duke. The second event, previously imparted to the Superior at Chaillot in strict secrecy, is sent by Donna Vittoria a few days later in a letter announcing that the Queen has hopes of again becoming a mother, and Rizzini, when reporting James II's departure for Brest in December, to receive the Irish troops after the capitulation of Limerick, adds :—"The Queen is progressing favourably in her pregnancy."

The fact, so important as a verification of the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, was made public January 7, 1692.

Rizzini, writing 10 March, 1692, to the Duke of Modena, says :—" . . . The news from London is that since the disgrace of Churchill the Princess of Denmark is disgusted (*disgustata*) and absents herself from Court." 1692

Evelyn had recorded the great man's downfall a few weeks previously. " Lord Marlborough, Lt General of the King's Army, &c., &c., dismissed from all his charges—for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness, and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers. Note.—This was the Lord who was entirely advanced by King James, and was the first who betray'd and forsook him."

We find another interesting entry, 20 March, 1692. " I visited the Earl of Peterborough, who shew'd me the picture of the Prince of Wales, newly brought out of France, seeming in my opinion very much to resemble the Queen his mother, and of a most vivacious countenance."

The expected birth of another child was the occasion of an invitation from James II in the month of April to the Peeresses, the Lady Mayoress of London, and the wives of the Sheriffs to attend the Queen's lying-in. He also addressed the following letter to his daughter Mary :—" That we may not be wanting to ourselves now that it hath pleased Almighty God, the supporter of truth, to give us hopes of further issue, our dearest consort, the Queen, drawing near her time. . . . We do therefore hereby signify our royal pleasure to you, that you may use all possible means to come with what convenient haste you may, the Queen looking about the middle of May next (English account). And that you may have no scruple on our side, the Most Christian King has given his consent to promise you, as we hereby do, that you shall have leave to come, and, the Queen's labour over, to return with safety." Evelyn

Another effort was about to be made, and this time towards England, to re-establish the fallen King. Hopes were high ; Admiral Russell, commanding the English fleet, had promised connivance, provided he were not defied, and the news from England seemed to promise that, once landed, James would be

1692 well received. Renaudot's correspondents speak :—"Of a general contempt for the Prince of Orange, so that the fear of the Catholic religion and of the power of France are the only motives which can make this people adhere to the present Government. . . . The number of the King's servants increases from day to day, and in some places they are three to one. It has been found necessary to send a Regiment of thirteen Companies to Norwich, for fear of a rising.

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

"Several towns and counties have elected members well affected to the King to vacant seats. Everything tends to the same design of bringing a prompt remedy to the evils the Usurper has brought upon the nation . . . but the different opinions as to the methods for obtaining this end are the greatest obstacles, and it is to be feared it will be impossible to unite them unless the King arrives in person, with a good body of troops. The nobility and the people have plenty of courage, but their power is small, as the greater number are out of place. Those who are in office could do more, but do not venture to declare themselves yet. . . .

"The towns are groaning under the ruin of their commerce, the country is ruined by the land taxes. . . . The sailors are revolting daily. . . . The troops, from lack of pay, rob on the highways, and go into the towns begging from door to door . . . the greater part of the officers and men are for the King. . . ."

James and the Duke of Berwick had met 14,000 Irish troops at Brest in December, and formed them into regiments, of which the most considerable was given to the Duke of Berwick and called by his name, and on April 19, 1692, the King wrote to Cardinal d'Este :—"We are so entirely persuaded of your affection, . . . that we wish to give you a mark of our own, and of the confidence we have in your discretion, by informing you of our design to make a descent into England with the help of our dearest brother, the Most Christian King. We are sending an express to Rome to inform His Holiness secretly of our intention, and to solicit a prompt assistance on this occasion,

which as greatly concerns the good of the Church as our own re-establishment. . . ." 1692

James, after investing his little son with the Order of the Garter, left St. Germains for Caen and La Hogue, and Rizzini writes 25 April that great things are about to happen.

"The moment approaches in which Infinite Wisdom will pronounce itself, either for prosperity or for misfortune . . . The design is now public and indubitable of the King of England's descent into that country. It appears an arduous enterprise to many, and we shall await with beating hearts the progress of its execution.

If, therefore, nothing is changed in the system of private intelligence, if the wind is not contrary . . . and if the English people continue to be sensible of their own interests, the only power that governs them,—the attempt, it may be hoped, is likely to succeed ; as, besides the general pardon the King has offered in his proclamation, he promises the abolition of all imposts, and rewards and recompenses to all who return to their allegiance . .

In any case, if a landing is effected, the least good to be hoped from it by him who has promoted so great a project, will be the lighting up of a Civil War in that kingdom, whence the most useful consequences will arise for France, in diverting Orange's forces, combined with a vigorous attack upon his confederates, who finding themselves abandoned by him, will be forced to sue for peace, which could not fail to be advantageous to the English King also . . ."

Same to Modenese Secretary of State. Same date :—

". . . I have no copy of the King's proclamation, which is to be published forthwith in England . . in substance it contains a general amnesty and pardon, liberty of religion, within the limits which Parliament will enact ; a free Parliament to be summoned. It is supposed that there are secret intelligences, and other favourable dispositions, but nevertheless the design appears arduous to many . . . 2 May. News is daily expected of the Fleet, which is commanded by Admiral de Tourville . . . 21 May. The winds are contrary, and keep Tourville back, while giving Orange time to prepare obstacles to the enterprise. It was feared this might cause the Queen great disquiet, and a notable prejudice to her health in her present condition ; but when I went to St. Germains yesterday . . . I was happy to find her more tranquil than could have been expected, firmly persuaded as

1692 she is that sooner or later she will have good news, the more so, that by the King's letters she finds they do not make much account of the English and Dutch ships, which are all inferior to the French . . .

Letters from London declare the dissensions between the Princesses of Orange and Denmark increase daily, and it was noticed that the former, on leaving her sister's apartment, was weeping violently. . ."

Meanwhile Mary Beatrice had written to Lauzun, who had lately been made a duke (at her earnest solicitation, as Dangeau relates), the following order :—

Alfred Morrison Collection

"The Duke of Lauzun has power to treat with all those of the King my Lord's subjects at present in Flanders in the service of the Prince of Orange, who may wish to return to their allegiance to their legitimate King.

MARIA R."

Ibid.

May 23, Caryll informs the Duke that the Queen is too ill to write, as she tires herself writing long letters to the King every day. "If the wind had been favourable, we should apparently be in London at this hour, without the least opposition, for the enemy was so far from guessing our purpose, and so bare of troops in England, that we need only have marched straight to London to take possession of it. But now the face of things is changed, alarm has been taken, troops sent from Scotland, and the Prince of Orange can send some from Holland. . . ."

The letter ends with an expression of the belief that if the army in Normandy could be conveyed to England "we should gain the mastery in a few days."

HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR LEOPOLD.

"LONDON. 31 *May* 1692.

Imp. Archives, Vienna

". . . I must, by the messenger who is going to the King, inform Your Majesty in all haste that an express last night brought the joyful news from Admiral Russell that on Thursday he began the combat with the French fleet at 11 o'clock in the morning ; it lasted

until 5 in the evening, when the enemy began to retreat, the Admiral pursuing to engage him again. . . ." 1692

3 June, Hoffmann sends extracts from Admiral Russell's despatch :—

"The news has been celebrated by firing guns from the Tower, and the lighting of bonfires ; and as the Admiral's report, as well as the direction of the wind gave reason to hope that the enemy would not be allowed to reach Brest, the entire destruction of his Fleet was expected ; the hope was not disappointed, as tidings have come this morning from the Dutch Admiral Hallemond that the French fleet is utterly dispersed, that nine vessels retired to Barfleur, pursued by the Admiral, that sixteen others, in spite of the extreme danger, fled to the rocks round Guernsey . . . that Admiral de la Val has burned the 'Soleil Royal,' Tourville's ship of 104 guns, 'l'Admirable,' of 102 guns, 'Le Fort,' 80 guns—in a word all are dispersed, and few will be able to escape. . . . From all these reports it seems that the victory is complete. . . . On this side not one vessel has been lost, only three English and one Dutchman put out of action.

The destruction of that Fleet is due to the Jacobites here, who gave King James, and consequently the King of France, false ideas of the English Fleet, assuring him it would never be ready to put to sea. The King of France, who, by his bad advice, had made King James lose three kingdoms, has now lost all his maritime power. . . . Some Captains have arrived here, and confirm the former news ; they say the French fleet consisted of no more than fifty line vessels, and that the Toulon squadron was not there—it was to arrive later."

"6 *June.*

". . . I have to inform you that Admiral Russell, on the 3rd, burned thirteen to fifteen vessels which had fled to the Bay of La Hogue. . . . They were burned under the very eyes of King James, who, with his Irishmen, tried to save them from the shore. The enemy's Fleet consisted of only 49 ships, as on the enclosed list found upon some prisoners ; he thought he had only de la Val's squadron to deal with, a fog preventing him from seeing the whole fleet. He received (too late) a day after the battle, the order not to fight.—French presumption at sea has at all events been humbled without costing the allies a single vessel, except the fire-ships, which were all lost.

1692 The 'Soleil Royal' was the finest and most precious ship in Europe, having cost, it is said, three millions of livres. It is a pity she could not be saved as a perpetual trophy, but the enemy, to save the crews, having run his vessels ashore, it was impossible to take any of them, and they were all burned—so he will be able to fish up his guns, which are all metal, and the loss of which would have been very considerable. . . ."

However brave a front the Queen might bear in public, the letter she wrote to the Superior at Chaillot a few days after the disaster of La Hogue betrays feelings of greater discouragement than on any other occasion of her life.

"St Germains. 14 *June* 1692.

Chaillot MSS. Archives Nationales "What shall I say to you, my beloved mother, or rather, what would not you say to me, if we could be one quarter of an hour in each other's arms? I think, however, the time would pass entirely in tears and sighs, and that my eyes and my sobs would say more than my lips, for, in truth, what is there, after all, that can be said by friendship in the state in which I am. . .

Oh, the ways of God are far from our ways, and his thoughts are different from ours. We see this clearly in our last calamity, and by the unforeseen, almost supernatural mischances by which God has overthrown our designs, and has appeared to declare himself so clearly against us for our overwhelming. What can we say to this, my beloved mother, or rather is it not better to say nothing, but closing our lips, and bowing our head, to adore, and to approve, *if we can*, all that God does, for he is master of the universe, and it is meet and right that all should be submitted to him. It is the Lord, he has done what was good in his sight."

James II lingered for three weeks at the Hogue, as if unable to tear himself away from the scene of so crushing a disaster, and apparently forgetful of the necessity of returning to St. Germains before the Queen's lying-in. She writes to the Superior of Chaillot:—

Ibid. "The King has not chosen to return from La Hogue, though he has nothing to keep him there, and my condition speaks for itself to

Jacobus Secundus Dei gratia Angliæ
Scotiæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex &c.

James II in exile.

British Museum. *Largillière*

make him come to me. In the meantime, he would not resolve upon anything; but he will find all well over, although it costs me much to have it so without his orders, which Lord Melfort brought us this morning. . . Embrace all the dear Sisters; take leave of them for me before my lying-in, not knowing what may happen." 1692

A letter to Lauzun, written about the same time, has a more valiant ring :—

". . . The King is sending Lord Melfort [from La Hogue] to your King. . . I tremble lest he should be hindered from doing that which his reputation and the good of his affairs require of him, and though his absence is very sensible to me, and that I passionately desired to have him near me at this time, I should be very sorry to see him spend the summer at St. Germains. . . . I have written to the King, and to Madame de Maintenon. . . . I hope our misfortunes will not lessen his friendship for us; that were the greatest loss of all. I pray God to bless his arms, and make them happier in Flanders than they were at sea. . ." Alfred Morrison Collection

James II returned to St. Germains 21 June, and on the 25th was born, in the presence of the Chancellor of France, the Duchess of Orleans and the Princesses of the blood, a Princess, to whom Louis XIV, on his return from the siege of Namur, and the Duchess of Orleans stood sponsors, giving her the names of Louise Marie. None of the persons invited from England had come, but the presence of Madame Meereroom, the wife of the Danish Ambassador, was noticed with satisfaction, Denmark being in alliance with the Dutch and English. "The King of England tenderly cherished that Princess," says the *Chaillot Journal*; he was wont to say :— "'This is she, whom the Lord has given us to be the consolation of our exile.'" How bitterly the iron had entered the soul of James can be seen in his well-known letter to the King of France after the battle of the Hogue:—"My evil star has influenced the arms of Your Majesty, ever victorious but when fighting for me. I entreat you therefore to interest yourself no more for a prince so unfortunate, but permit me to withdraw, with my family, to some corner of the world, where I

1692 may cease to be an interruption to Your Majesty's wonted course of prosperity and glory."

Jacobite plotting continued active in spite of adverse circumstances. Simson, *alias* Jones, escaped, with the connivance of the French Court, from the Bastille, and went to England, whence he kept up a constant correspondence with Renaudot. He sends him a key of names used for divers persons, and a "Memorial of some things necessary for our correspondence. Direct your letters—ffor Mr William Robinson at the Venetian Coffee house in the pall-mall London. ffor Dr. Murray to be left next door to the Hartfordshyre Coffee-house in Brookes Markett near Hollborne in London. But the first is the best.

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

"But when you have anything particular proper for my own knowledge only, Direct . . ffor Mrs Mary Russell, to be left with Mrs. Penelope Huggons, at a tinn-shopp over against Mark Lane in ffenchurch Street, London. Make up all your letters after the manner of merchants as you saw I did myne . . . and still number them at the top. . ."

Another paper contains no less than thirty reasons why Lord Melfort, who, it will be remembered, had been instrumental in sending the writer to the Bastille, should be removed from the King of Great Britain. He is represented as being "one of the chief causes of the misfortunes which obliged the King, his master, to leave England, and the great cause of all those that have befallen his affairs in France, and more especially after the misfortune of His Majesty's late Expedition [to Ireland]. There is no remedy on earth than removing him from the King, which will not only secure the whole management in the hands of the Most Christian King and his ministers . . . But also have the greatest present effect upon all sorts of people in Britain in generall, and upon the two Parliaments in particular. In one word, it will have a greater effect to the facilitating our present measures with them, than 100,000 Louis d'or scattered among them."

Renaudot's own opinion of Melfort was a poor one. He

several times ironically calls him "my hero," and writes to one of the French Ministers:—"His anger against me greatly increased when he found I would not fall into several traps he had laid for me . . Since that time he has threatened me, he has made me as suspect to the King and Queen as he could . . . and only asked for my friendship again when he thought he was lost for having, against all the world, prevented the King from granting the Presbyterians the articles they asked for, when they were all-powerful in Parliament. 1692

"Having closed every path to those who sought access to the King of England by any other way than through him, and having several times written that the King would sooner forgive those who addressed themselves to the Prince of Orange than to the Court of France—seeing that in spite of all his precautions we have had intercourse with several considerable persons, he sought occasion to fall upon me, as he has now done. . . .

"Although the continual complaints against him with which all the letters we have received during the past three years have been filled, gave ample reason to speak against him, I have always tried to appease discontent, but not to establish confidence in him, which I considered would be impossible . . ."

Renaudot's English correspondents are all in favour of Lord Middleton against Melfort; and that the Queen had no great confidence in him would appear from an urgent message she had sent to the King her husband in Ireland through Lauzun, before Melfort's mission to Rome:—". . . Implore the King to order him, if it appears as necessary to him as it does to me, to depend entirely upon my uncle, Cardinal d'Este, and to let himself be guided by him . . . I beg you so to manage that he may never suspect that I have caused you to speak of this to the King . . ."

Evelyn notes, January 1693:—"Admiral Russell laid aside for not pursuing the advantage he had obtained over the French," and Jacobite feeling was running high, to judge by some of the ballads of the time, and such a fervent address to

1693 the absent Queen as Lansdowne wrote in his Progress of Beauty :—

> "'Be bold, be bold, my Muse! nor fear to raise
> Thy voice to her who was thy earliest praise,
> Queen of our hearts, and charmer of our sight,
> A monarch's pride, his glory and delight.
> . . . . . .
> To be but at her feet more glory brings
> Than 'tis to tread on sceptres and on kings;
> Secure of empire in that beauteous breast
> Who would not give their crowns to be so blest?'"

Meanwhile Rizzini, writing February 11 to the Duke of Modena, gives an instance of the facility with which King James could be imposed upon. A gentleman named Bada (*sic*), to whom he had given a commission of Major in his guard, was subsequently accused in the Dutch Gazette of being an impostor, and a renegade Benedictine monk :—"Their British Majesties lie under the fatality of having had in their service the greatest number of open or secret traitors, unknown persons, or reputed unworthy of their favour . . They have had to suffer the annoyance of great complaints against this Bada . . of quarrels and accusations among their servants, and of witnessing the misery of so many English and Irish Catholic families at St. Germains, whose number increases daily, and to feed whom they, so to speak, almost take the bread from their own mouths . . .

"The widowed Milady Waldegrave,[1] natural daughter of the British King, was on the point of making a clandestine marriage with a natural son of the late Duke of Tyrconnel; so it has been judged expedient to make her withdraw into a Convent of English nuns at Pontoise, where a sister of hers is a nun.

"It is also reported in Paris, and at Court, that the Duke of Berwick, having fallen in love with a daughter of Count d'Armagnac of the House of Lorraine and grand *Ecuyer*, has

[1] Henry, Lord Waldegrave, James II's Ambassador at Versailles, died 24 January 1690. He was succeeded by Skelton.

asked her hand in marriage without the knowledge of the King, his father, who is much annoyed, being well aware that the Count would refuse, as the natural sons of kings, although recognised, do not hold the rank of princes in England, as in France and Spain." 1693

A few days later, Rizzini remarks upon the growing misery in France, and the anxiety of peace, and 25th February, 1693, Parliament insists upon triennial parliaments:—"This is directly contrary to the prerogative of the Crown in England, and tends, little by little, to change that government into a Republic."

Correspondence between France and the English Jacobites was being carried on vigorously, and Renaudot remarks that "the Prince of Orange" who had gone to Holland at the end of March, "swore frightfully" on hearing of another Jacobite plot. Simson-Jones, who had gone to England after his permitted escape from the Bastille, finding that faithful loyalists were wary of him, on the advice of one of them, Mr. Craig, whose letter is among the Renaudot papers, returned to Paris, and to the Bastille, where he was lodged in the Governor's house. Renaudot informs M. de Pontchartrain that he has sent letters from Jones to the unsuspicious King and Queen, who had been left in ignorance of the part the French Court had played in his evasion, though Renaudot, in his letter, wonders if they can really be ignorant of it. They were overjoyed at the news. "Poor lad!" exclaimed the King, ". . . he proves his innocence and his zeal for my service by returning to the Bastille . . . Tell him that not only I forget all I have heard against him, but that I shall take care to give him every possible mark of my favour." The King said gaily to the Queen:—"Madam, Jones has come back to the Bastille, and has written to me, and to you also." The Queen showed even greater pleasure than the King, and cried:—"Alas, poor fellow, what has he not suffered for our sake . . . " then turning to the Countess of Almond:—"Well, now he has come back, what can be said against him?"

1693 A more important person than Jones was also returning, unabashed by his former treachery, to attempt another plot. Sir James Montgomery, who had asked Queen Mary II. to give him "any place in which he could subsist with decency" now enters into correspondence with Renaudot, who reports his letters and Irving's :—"That it is of the last importance not to let the present occasion slip, so many are the persons with favourable dispositions towards the King and Queen, and who all display their impatience to see the execution of what has been promised them, touching the object of their aversion [Melfort] who, they say, forgets nothing to upset everything."

Montgomery proposed to come to Paris, and then changing his mind wrote to Simson-Jones $\frac{27\ \text{July}}{7\ \text{August}}$ that the Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Hamilton, and Captain Montgomery, a cousin of his own, would come instead :

"The former," writes Renaudot to M. de Pontchartrain, "has been twice at the French Court. He has the confidence of several of the King's servants in Scotland and in England, and his person has always been agreeable to him, for which reason he has been chosen.

"Captain Montgomery is a Naval officer . . . greatly attached to the King's service . . . He is a particular friend of Lord Middleton, but not of his colleague . . . It is considered important that before going to St. Germains, these gentlemen should see some of the Ministers, so as to be informed of the intentions of His Majesty [Louis XIV], lest, knowing nothing of the state of the Court of St. Germains, the same might happen to them as has happened to others, viz. : they might be inspired with unfounded suspicions, prevented from speaking freely, and their errand made fruitless. . . "

The Renaudot papers contain a letter from Jones to Renaudot at this date, pathetically begging for money to support his wife, and large family of young children.

We find about this time in Evelyn's Diary another proof of his attachment to his former Queen. He has been to Whitehall

to see the new Queen's apartment, her rare cabinets and collection of china :—"In her library were many books . . . of all sorts ; a cupboard of gold plate ; a cabinet of silver filagree, which I think was our Queen Mary's and which in my opinion should have been generously sent to her." The silver filagree was probably the present James had given his young wife after the birth of her second child. 1693

How beautiful Mary Beatrice remained in spite of her many troubles is shown by a letter written in this her thirty-fifth year by the Earl of Perth to his sister the Countess of Erroll. Speaking of the beauteous Duchess of Arenberg he says :—"She is one of the most beautiful and every way accomplished ladies I ever saw, except our Queen, who deserves the preferment for her merit of all I have known."

One of the sad consequences of the royal misfortunes was the disbandment of James's Scotch brigade. The Queen alludes to it in the following letter to Sister Angélique Priolo :—

> "Yesterday we went to Versailles. . . . The King's [James II] kind heart, as well as mine have suffered much for some days from this desolating reform that awaits us . . . it has at length begun among our poor troops. . . . We are quite satisfied with the King, [Louis XIV] he spoke to us yesterday with much kindness about it, and convinced us that, if it had not been for the consideration he has for us, he should not have kept the fourth part of those whom he has retained. . . ."

Dalrymple gives a touching account of the King's last review of his Brigade, the brave remnants of the followers of Dundee ; a hundred and fifty officers, all of honourable birth, who enrolled themselves in the French army. The King bowed with his hat off, and then, turning away, burst into a passion of tears. He turned to them again, and "the regiment kneeled, bent their heads and eyes steadfast on the ground, and then rose, and passed him with the usual honours of war."

Renaudot reports, 14 October, 1693, a conversation with Captain Montgomery :—"Affairs in general, and with Sweden in particular, are in a better state than ever . . . As a proof

1693 of the favourable dispositions of Sweden he said that the new Ambassador, successor to M. Oxenstein, had entered into confidence with them, and renewed the assurances of his predecessor . . ." Later Renaudot sends extracts from letters of the 8th, 11th, and 15th December from Sir James Montgomery and Irving :—"The letters . . . show that matters are ripe to make a great stir in this Parliament, and cause it to revolt against the Government, but for want of the declaration asked for [from James II] they were unable to profit by the turbulent spirit they had excited in the first sittings. They declare that otherwise they would have gained their object, as they can positively prove. All they can now do is to foster the seeds of dissension between Parliament and the Prince of Orange, in the hope of deriving future advantage therefrom.

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

"They have heard that Father Peter (*sic*) has been *incognito* to St. Germains, and stayed fifteen days there, which has done great injury to the King's affairs. The King's enemies have also availed themselves of a popular objection which obtains some credence—that in recalling their King, they would be obliged to repay the Most Christian King all he had cost him, the expenses of the war in Ireland, and even of the present campaign. They recommend that this article should not be neglected, however extravagant it may seem . . . and measures taken to disabuse the vulgar of such an apprehension, which would never enter the mind of those who know the greatness of soul and generosity of the King . . ."

The copy of an important document, which Renaudot is sending by a Mr. Crosby to the Protestant Jacobites in England bears date 20 December 1693, and declares that Louis XIV intends to restore the King of England by "the means most conformable to the interests and spirit of the nation, and to the fundamental constitutions of the Government. . . . Any false notions which may have been promulgated, especially at the time of the Declaration last year, must be dispelled, as His Majesty had no knowledge of it, nor of certain articles *in that declaration* particularly odious to the Nation. . . ." Louis XIV

Ibid.

promises to listen to any proposals made to him through his Ministers; he promises inviolable secrecy. "His Majesty will protect any who may be obliged to leave England, and they shall in no way be troubled concerning their religion." He will provide the means for their escape if necessary. "The care taken by his orders, to save the life of Lord Preston, although not in communication with him, may serve as a proof of what may be expected from the generosity of His Majesty." Entire confidence is placed in Lord Middleton and the Protestant Bishops. 1693

"If there be any persons near the King of England suspected by those who may have important designs, they are earnestly entreated not to abandon them on that account . . . When the King will have positive assurance that the faithful servants of the British King are united in sufficient numbers to declare themselves in his favour with safety, and a descent into England is judged practicable, His Majesty will furnish all that is necessary for the enterprise, when it can be made in concert with the nation."

The last clause of this important document contains the essential difference between the standpoint of the French Court and that of the English Jacobite party. Louis XIV was ready to send money, arms and men into England, even after the failure in Ireland and at La Hogue, the moment the Jacobites declared themselves for King James. They, on the other hand, ever strove to persuade him to make the first move, and to send a French force into England; they would then have risen, or remained quiet, according to the success or failure of the first engagements. A long answer is returned, urging Louis XIV to strike at once, as the moment is favourable :—

"To attain an end so desirable for the peace of Europe and the happiness of our country, and in which the glory, the honour and the justice of the Most Christian King seemed involved, we are ready to risk our lives and fortunes, as are a number of other persons of every quality and profession engaged with us. . . . We have charged the bearer of this letter to signify this to you, and very humbly to Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

1693 entreat that you will make known to us, by him, as soon as possible what assurances you require from us and our friends, in order to give you entire satisfaction as to all you may expect from us. . . . This letter has been written in the presence and by order of the sub-named persons :—

"The Marquis of Worcester.	Earl of Huntingdon.
Earl of Thanet.	Earl of Clarendon.
Earl of Scarsdale.	Earl of Lichfield.
Earl of Yarmouth.	Lord Ferrers.
Lord Griffin.	Lord Fanshaw.
Lord Forbes.	Earl of Chesterfield.
Bishop of Norwich.	Bishop of Exeter."
Lord Arran.	

RENAUDOT TO THE COUNT OF PONTCHARTRAIN.

"Mr Crosby went back to-day. He has connections and ability which may make him as useful as anybody. The conferences we have had together have been without the participation of *my hero*, who has made difficulties about everything (*a fait finesse de tout*) We nevertheless found means to get instructions, which are pitiable—so vague are they, and making no more mention of this country than if it were a thousand leagues away. I thought it therefore very important to remedy this, as I think I have done. . . ."[1]

Not only was William Penn a personal friend and most faithful servant of James II, but the whole sect of Quakers never wavered in their belief in the honesty of their monarch's promises regarding liberty of conscience, and remained true to his cause to the last. Renaudot writes at the end of the above letter :—"The Quaker [Mr Broomfield is written in the margin] is leaving to-morrow. I have given him a memoir drawn from the one you approved of. He will need, if you please, letters for Calais, and as it is not expedient he should cross with Mr. Crosby, I shall send word to M. de Thomé so to arrange their passage that they may not see each other. The latter travels post, and the Quaker on horseback, so it can be done."

[1] In a marginal note to a paper of Renaudot's saying :—"You will observe how that Prince's (James II) orders are executed."—the Minister remarks—"He is much to be pitied, but it is his own fault."

At the beginning of January 1694, Renaudot reports that Sir James Montgomery is coming over to arrange for the descent into England, and prays that he may be well received at Calais—"As he no doubt comes in order to be the first bearer of good tidings, and if the least suspicion is aroused in his queer mind (*cet esprit bizarre*) he would be capable of doing great harm. 1694

"It is wonderful that under circumstances such as these private interests should prevail over the public good; Crosby sends word that six persons lately sent over by Mylord Melfort, are more concerned in pacifying the complaints against him, which are always the same, than in satisfying suspicious minds by sincere negotiations. From other sources we hear that they are doing more harm than good, and you are entreated not to give credence to all they write; nor to what will be said by two lately arrived here—Barclay and Williamson."

COPY OF ORDER TO THE COMMANDANT OF CALAIS.

"6 *January* 1694.

"Several English gentlemen are shortly to arrive at Calais, who will make themselves known to you by whispering in your ear that they are sent by Fabius, and the King commands me to tell you that you are to allow them to pass upon that word, and to give them every facility for coming secretly to Paris without the knowledge of any one. You will please address them to the Abbé R. . . . [Renaudot]."

A fortnight later Renaudot announces the arrival of Irving, a Jacobite agent whom he is sending to Versailles, and then, if M. de Pontchartrain thinks fit, to St. Germains.

"27 *January* 1694.

Mr Irving's chief commission to the King of England concerns Scotland, where, they declare, measures have been taken for seizing Edinburgh Castle and the Council of State at the first movement."

"30 *January*.

"In one letter 20,000 men were asked for, including 5,000 for Scotland. In the other only 10,000. The jalousies and suspicions

1694 of which you are well aware have again produced their ordinary effects; and the worst has been to animate the Episcopal party against the Presbyterians, so that in the present Parliament they have traversed each other, to the profit of the Prince of Orange, through mutual misunderstandings."

"31 *January.*

"I have just received news that Sir James Montgomery, who was about to start in the sloop, has been arrested by a messenger. It is not yet known if he is in London or on the coast; but it is difficult not to suspect treachery."

That Lord Melfort is the suspected person is clear from Renaudot's next letter—

"5 *February* 1694.

". . . . I have several other letters of which I have given you no account, after so complete a reversal of measures as the imprisonment of Sir James Montgomery . . . which is a great misfortune. There is hardly any one who does not believe there was treachery, and if there are no proofs as yet, the indications are so strong as to destroy for ever the little credit the suspected person possessed. This has gone so far that several Englishmen have resolved to go home, thinking themselves no longer safe for having declared against him; and the order obtained from you to send the agent of some merchants to the Bastille has completed their trouble, making them believe that the same measure may be dealt to any who may denounce him for this last affair. I can therefore recommend nothing to you, except to show great resentment at Montgomery's imprisonment, to use every method to save him if possible, or at all events to preserve his party, by making them aware of all that can be done to help and encourage them."

A few days later Renaudot sends a *précis* of a letter from England of February 5:—"The complaints against the suspected Minister are always the same, and the common opinion is that if he remains at the head of affairs, it will need an increase of 10,000 men to re-establish the King. In case of a proposal to send for Lord Torrington to France, it would be advisable to await further news, as there is an important affair *sur le tapis*, of which it is necessary to see the issue.

"Colonel Parker, Lord Melfort's chief correspondent, has

caused much embarrassment by his imprudence, spreading reports of a descent as coming from St. Germains, and sending letters to certain servants of the King who refused to receive them, while others carried them to Lord Sydney." 1694

Next day Renaudot announces the escape of Montgomery and his safe arrival at Calais on the 1st February :—"It has been one of the most extraordinary adventures that ever happened, and which must greatly annoy the Prince of Orange. Sir James Montgomery was arrested on the 19th of January, and sent to the house of a messenger. The order was given by Mr. Secretary Trenchard, in presence of the Prince of Orange, who had received positive news that Montgomery was about to start for France, as well as of the house in which he was concealed. It is not doubted but that the information came from Mylord M . . . After his arrest, Montgomery was sent to three different messengers, so that no one might know where he was. His guard was composed of five men from Whitehall, and in three days they were changed every twenty-four hours, so that forty-eight different men were employed. The Prince of Orange publicly boasted that he would send him to Scotland to be put to the torture, which, as you know, is terrible in that country." Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

The case of Neville Payne lent special terror to William's threat. Engaged with Montgomery in a former plot, he had been tried and condemned at Edinburgh, but his judges had hesitated to put him to the question, which was deferred from the date of his sentence in August, until special orders came from the King on November 18th. The torture, with thumb-screws and boot, lasted two hours, but Payne with great constancy and courage confessed nothing. He was the last man tortured in Scotland.

"Montgomery," continues Renaudot, "gained three of his guards so completely—and on the point of honour, as they refused the money offered them—that they were ready to kill the other two, who made difficulties, but allowed themselves to be persuaded to wink at the evasion ; after it they were *Ibid.*

1694 all to desert, and come to France. Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, who was aware of the scheme, had a carriage ready at a given point, to which the guards conducted Montgomery, who left London with Oglethorpe. Outside the town a carriage and six awaited them, and took them to the house of a friend who gave them horses to continue their journey to our agent on the coast, who certainly deserves a reward. The sloop happily carried them into safety. I hear that nothing could have caused greater astonishment, and that Prince Louis of Baden could not help showing his amazement at seeing the Prince of Orange betrayed by his own guards . . . . Montgomery will be here on Tuesday or Wednesday . . . . Oglethorpe comes also under the name of Mordaunt, and begs that his identity may not be disclosed . . . . "

10 February 1694 Renaudot announces Montgomery's arrival in Paris so tired and ill that he has advised him to spend a day or two in bed before presenting himself to Pontchartrain. The chief things he has said are that " Trenchard and one of the Scotch Secretaries declared they were warned of his hiding place and departure by a letter from St. Germains. As nothing was known there of Oglethorpe he attributes to that happy ignorance the fact that he was not arrested also.

" The first house to which they went was the Swedish Ambassador's. They beg you to keep this circumstance very secret. Mr. Johnson, one of the Secretaries for Scotland, served them very well, and you may remember that from the first he has been spoken of as well-disposed. Dalrymple, the other Secretary, did quite the contrary. . . . Walwood, the doctor who had been sent by the Prince of Orange to watch Montgomery, said the same thing as to the letter from St. Germains. The person they suspect received letters from Calais on Sunday with the first news of the arrest, and suppressed them until the Wednesday. . . .

" Montgomery and Oglethorpe have drawn up a paper on the chief points relating to the Jacobite movement. They had no knowledge of King James's former proposals, the majority

being afraid to negotiate with Lord Melfort, especially since Fuller, whom he had employed, had denounced all those he knew of. The generality of the nation desire the restoration of the legitimate sovereign; but they admit that the artifices of the Prince of Orange, by which he has secured the majority in Parliament, the fears he has fostered of the power of the King of France, who would, he says, in his zeal for religion, overthrow all the laws of the country, the foreign forces in the kingdom, the dissensions among the British King's servants, the poor measures adopted by his agents, and the general discouragement of well-intentioned people, have reduced affairs to a very grave condition. 1694 Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

"The remedy they propose is a direct attack upon the Prince of Orange by a descent into England before the month of May by the Thames, Dover, and Southampton, as they explain in a separate paper. They have the promise of three Admirals, who have a complete knowledge of the fleet, filled with officers who are their creatures, and who would execute the enterprise; more than fifty Lords would declare themselves at the same time; the Governors of the Forts at Chatham and on the Thames would render them up, and even the City of London would either declare at once for the King, or would soon be obliged to receive him. They do not doubt of the complete success of the enterprise, which would cost about two millions of French money. Montgomery will say nothing about Lord Melfort, but prays that all communications may be made through Lord Middleton." [1]

RENAUDOT TO M. DE PONTCHARTRAIN.

"21 *Feb.* 1694.

"You will have heard what occurred in the English Parliament respecting the exclusion of the Court Pensioners. The majority of the Commons put on their hats in the presence of the Prince of Orange, and voted the strongest address which has been seen for a long time. . . . *Ibid.*

Mylord Chancellor, who knows his country well, said that if on

[1] Montgomery died in Paris at the end of 1694.

1694 that occasion the King had been in England with a hundred men, he would have been re-established . . ."

A few days later, Renaudot sends extracts from a letter drawn up by Lord Clarendon, and on April 9 writes that Lord Griffin has arrived.

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

"His purpose is to remain as a hostage for the fulfilment of their promises, and to give exact information of their designs. . . . As he will bear witness that with the exception of Mylord Ailesbury, the Bishop of Norwich and two or three more, all persist in refusing, nothwithstanding the repeated commands of the King of England, to deal with Lord Melfort, he has partly come to speak to the British King on that subject. Lord Griffin is a man of fifty, of great good sense and excellent manners . . . he and his wife, who is a woman of great spirit, have suffered much in the service of the King their master since the Revolution. . . . He speaks French well . . ."

Extracts from divers letters from England.

Ibid.

". . . Mylord Devonshire openly treats Sunderland as a traitor, who sold King James, and would now betray the Prince of Orange. He has even declared that he will not continue to serve him unless Sunderland is dismissed. . . . The Prince of Orange is greatly embarrassed, and his favour varies from one to another, and the habit he has taken of spending the night drinking heavily with two or three confidants is attributed to his trouble of mind."

Churchill at this time, whether, as has been suggested, in order to injure Admiral Russell, with whom he was at enmity, or moved by the sight of the strong Jacobite tide running in England to a transient desire to act the part of a General Monk, offered his services to the King whom he had been the first to betray, and as an earnest of his repentance and good purpose sent the information contained in the following letter :—

General Sackfield to Lord Melfort.

"*May* 3. 1694.

"I have just now received the enclosed for the King. It is from Lord Churchill, but no person but the Queen must know from whom it comes. For the love of God, let it be kept a secret."

Enclosure from Lord Marlborough to James II :— 1694

"It is only to-day I have learned the news I now write you, which is that the bomb-ketches and 12 Regiments encamped at Portsmouth, with 2 Regiments of marines, all commanded by Talmarsh [Tollemache] are destined for burning of harbour of Brest, and destroying all the men-of-war there. This will be a great advantage for England, but no consideration can prevent, or ever shall prevent me, from informing you of all that I believe to be for your service. Therefore you may make your own use of this intelligence, which you may depend upon being exactly true, but I must conjure you, for your own interest, to let no one know but the Queen and the bearer of this letter. Russell sails to-morrow with 40 ships, the rest are not yet paid, but it is said that in ten days the rest of the fleet will follow. I endeavoured to learn this from Admiral Russell, but he always denied it to me, though I am sure he knew this design for 6 weeks. This gives a bad sign of that man's intentions. I shall be well pleased to learn that this letter comes safe to your hands." Macpherson, Orig. Papers, vol. i. p. 144

The French, thus placed on their guard, totally defeated the English squadron, but in the following July Evelyn notes on the 13th :—"Lord Berkeley burned Dieppe and Havre-de-Grace with bombs in revenge for the defeat at Brest."

Writing, May 26, to the Duke of Modena, Rizzini states that there have now been two years of scarcity in France. "To-morrow there will be a solemn procession of the relics of St. Geneviève in Paris, to beg God's blessing on the harvest, and for a cessation of the present necessities. . . ."

"2 *June* 1694.

". . . Their British Majesties have thought it well that Mylord Melfort should resign his office of Secretary of State, to content the English who call themselves the loyal party, and who have long desired this. (*in cypher*) For certain offices at the French Court—where he is not to the mind of the Ministers—part of the negotiations passed through my hands, their Majesties having entrusted me with their commands for M. de Croissy. . . . They parted with him most unwillingly, having always held him faithful and very capable. . . . They have raised him to the rank of Duke, giving him the warrant,

1694 but on the condition that it will only take effect when they return to England, as they mean to give no more titles or dignities to any one."

"23 *June.*

"Mylord Melfort left St. Germains last Saturday, with his wife, for the Baths of Bourbon; but from there he will go further, to put an end to the discontent of those who saw his great favour with the British King. He is not yet accused of anything touching his loyalty, but it is certain that he was always too much attached to his own private interests."

CHAPTER XI

THE home life of James and Mary Beatrice was happy in 1694
each other and in their children ; the little Princess Louise Marie, now in her third year, seems to have given little anxiety on the score of her health, and to have thriven lustily, surrounded by a throng of little Middletons, Plowdens, Hays, Dillons, Bourkes, Stricklands and Molzas, bringing an element of mirth and carelessness into the anxious Court of St. Germains. James's love of children is prettily exemplified in an anecdote which Miss Agnes Strickland had from a descendant of one of Mrs. Plowden's daughters, who used to relate that when her mother had occasion to punish her by shutting her into a passage on which a window of the King's closet opened, she had only to climb up and tap on the glass for the King instantly to come and release her. Her mother would then find her sitting at his feet, or on his knee, and at last ventured to inquire how it came about that whenever she punished her little girl, His Majesty always did her the honour of admitting her to his closet. James pointed to the little window in solution of the mystery.

The King's life of austerity and penance meanwhile became more and more rigorous, his retreats at La Trappe had become an annual institution, and year by year he seems to have turned with greater eagerness to his sojourn within the austere walls, on which the words inscribed by St. Bernard :—"O solitudo, sola beatitudo" appealed to him with ever increasing force. The love and veneration of Mary Beatrice for her husband

1694 grew with the growth of his sanctity, and she conceived a great gratitude and affection for the Abbé de Rancé for the good he had wrought in him. There is but one record at La Trappe of a visit from her in company with the King (*in* 1696) and she was wont to call Chaillot "her La Trappe."

For more than a year Rizzini's letters had expressed the growing anxiety of the Queen concerning her brother's health, when the news reached her at Fontainebleau of his death, 6 September, 1694, at Sassuolo, his stately country palace near Modena, with its painted halls and moated garden looking towards the distant hills. Francesco II was in his thirty-fourth year, and it will be remembered that he had profited by his mother's absence in England to declare himself major and to assume the reins of government at the age of fourteen, a circumstance for which Mary Beatrice, in her conversations at Chaillot, took blame upon herself, as the cause of Duchess Laura's lengthened stay in London. With the help of Prince Cesare, Francesco's Court had soon assumed a laxity which scandalised the older princes, accustomed to the regular dignity which had prevailed during his mother's regency, and was one of the reasons of Cesare's banishment from Modena. The young Duke, like all his race, was a patron of art, and to him Modena owes the foundation of its Academy. He left no children and was succeeded by his uncle, Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este.

RIZZINI TO DUKE RINALDO II.

"FONTAINEBLEAU, 29 *September* 1694

". . . The unhappy news arrived at Fontainebleau yesterday of the death of Duke Francesco of glorious memory. The previous evening there had been rumours . . . brought from Parma, but the Most Christian King judged that they should be kept from the Queen until they were confirmed by the arrival of the messenger . . . and then that she should not be informed until after she had retired at night for her accustomed pious exercises. The British king undertook (much against his will) to break the sad news to her with the assistance of her confessor. They found Her Majesty on her knees and rather thoughtful *alquanto pensosa*, as she had noticed that some

Francesco II. Duke of Modena.
Museum, Modena.

unpleasant news had reached the Court, by the trouble on the courtiers' faces; but supposing it to be owing to some reverse in the army or at sea, she had abstained from enquiring the cause. When the truth was made known to her, she had the strength to overcome the first movement of anguish, and, being on her knees, offered her great sorrow as a holocaust of resignation to Almighty God. . . . When in bed, she gave way to her tears but did not refuse to receive the consolation which the Most Christian King came to offer her. . . . Madame de Maintenon followed him, and was a very mirror of virtue and compassion. . . . Finally, Her Majesty deigned to admit me and desired to know all the particulars of His Serene Highness's death, above all wishing to be assured (as I was able to do by the messenger's report) that he had had time to prepare for a Christian death, and with every mark of exemplary conformity to the Will of God. . . ." 1695

Dangeau notes in his Journal 27 September :—"There was neither *appartement* nor comedy in the evening. The death of the Duke of Modena has suspended all diversions on account of the Queen of England."

The year 1695 began with a wedding at St. Germains. January 1, in the palace chapel, the gallant Duke of Berwick, who, after a campaign in Flanders had spent the winter at St. Germains, married a bride chosen for him by King James, in the person of Honoria Burke, daughter of the Earl of Clanricarde, and widow of Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan killed in 1693 in the service of France at the battle of Nerwinde. St. Simon describes her as "beautiful, touching, *faite à peindre*, a nymph who succeeded admirably at the Court of St. Germains." Berwick loved her tenderly, "never was marriage happier or more united during the three years before the young Duchess's premature death," we read in a memoir of the Duke published shortly after his death. She was attached to Mary Beatrice's service and Louis XIV gave her an apartment at Versailles "to please the Queen of England," writes Dangeau.

12 January, 1695, Rizzini informs the Duke of Modena that the Grand Duke of Tuscany has found himself obliged :—

1695 "now that the English begin to predominate in the Mediterranean, to recognise the Prince of Orange as King." He has sent to the Court of St. Germains to explain his reasons, "which their Majesties accepted and understood." The Venetians have done likewise, and Rizzini adds in cypher that it is supposed "they were instigated thereto by the Emperor."

The reasons of State which obliged Grand Duke Cosimo to acknowledge the sovereignty of William III made no alteration in the friendship between him and the Queen. Mary Beatrice sent him the portraits of her two children, and the letter in which he thanks her for a gift so precious is full of the old affectionate regard.

A sudden and tragic event is the subject of Rizzini's next letter :—

"20 *Jan.* 1695.

"The news will have reached you of the death of the Princess of Orange of putrid small-pox after three days' illness. This death may assuredly entail great consequences, as her husband loses in her the one person on whom he could leave the weight of public affairs during his absence in Flanders. And if he is obliged to live continually in England, the affairs of the League will move but slowly. Great jealousies and suspicions may be expected, especially if he marries again.

That Princess, young, beautiful, and reputed the delight of a rebellious people, is suddenly become a frightful spectacle, and a subject for their bitter tears. She was a daughter who sinned against the commonest and most indispensable law of Nature ordained by God—that of honouring her parents. . . .

When Orange was informed that there was no hope he fainted twice and then abandoned himself to so much grief and tears that his accustomed asthma increased to a degree that he could hardly breathe, which caused some apprehension to his physicians, who bled him (some say twice). . . . Later letters announce that he is better, but still inconsolable."

Renaudot had already written to the Marquis de Croissy that now was the moment to raise disorders in England. "It may be supposed that this death will oblige the Prince of Orange to change his measures, and that he will not be able to

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

go to Flanders this year. . . . He had a pallet bed placed in the Princess's room and slept there all the time. . . . The great Seal has been broken and a new one is making on which the Prince appears alone. The Acts of succession giving him the reversion of the crown are nul on so many accounts that several persons openly declare the Princess of Denmark's right to be incontestable. . . . Two days before the death of the other there was an extraordinary affluence of Lords and clergy at the Princess's, and it has greatly augmented since." 1695

The Minister answers that Renaudot's reflections are very just, but the King [of France] must first know how the event is taken in England. People may, however, be assured that His Majesty's intention to help the British King remains unaltered. Renaudot therefore sends extracts of letters from Crosby of the $\frac{10}{20}$ January :—"There have been disorders at Bristol on the news of the Queen's death ; many people called for fiddlers and spent the night in dancing and drinking, singing a song composed against the Parliament in the time of Charles I. Some of the officers of the troops joined them, and they shouted in the middle of a great crowd, 'that they must be delivered from taxation and from foreigners.' . . . Something of the same kind occurred at Norwich ; troops have been sent into Norfolk, Suffolk, and Warwickshire to keep the people quiet. . . ."

With this we may contrast Evelyn's account of Mary's funeral :—"Never was so universal a mourning, all the Parliament men had cloaks given them, and 400 poor women. In sum, she was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the Crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, outdo the renown'd Queen Elizabeth."

At the death of Duke Francesco of Modena, Prince Cesare d'Este had fled to Turin, and the Queen sends word by Rizzini to her uncle that she hears he has suddenly appeared at Montecchio, "whence it may be presumed that they are tired of him at Turin, and will not suffer him there any longer." The desire to perpetuate the line of d'Este, of which he was now the sole

1695 direct representative, induced Duke Rinaldo, who although a Cardinal was not in Orders, to think of resigning his hat and entering into matrimony. The Queen appears to have been consulted, for Rizzini writes in cypher, 16 March, 1695 :—

". . . The Queen well remembers that Your Serene Highness expressly said that so long as you were invested with the sacred purple, you would not think of marrying; Her Majesty has all that concerns the illustrious name and glory of your house so near at heart that she cannot rest contented that it should be thought all the necessary documents had not been obtained, and still more that everything regarding the most praiseworthy circumspection and observance, in which she knows Your Serene Highness could not fail, had not been respected.

In regard to what concerns Her Majesty (whether respecting her brother's Will, or other matters) she has written herself, and feels assured that all will be treated of with full and most loving confidence."

"23 *March.* 1695.

"The Queen is anxious to hear that the Cardinal's hat has been resigned:—'for the good of the people and the perpetuation of the sovereign house of Este, equal in antiquity and renown to the most illustrious in Europe. . . .'"

"30 *March.*

"The Queen is glad to hear that a Princess Palatine is thought of, because of her relationship to the Empress, which might bring about a change of sentiment towards the English Royal Family as well as being a good alliance, but 'leaving in the hands of Providence all that concerns themselves the chief thing Her Majesty desires is the satisfaction of Your Serene Highness, and that Heaven may bless the alliance with the much wished for issue.'"

Duke Rinaldo laid down the hat, which his niece had been at so much pains to obtain for him, on the 24th March, and the negotiations for a Palatine Princess having failed, the Queen is glad to hear, writes Rizzini, that one of the Hanover Princesses has been thought of. She praises the quiet temperament rumour credits them with, "considering that as Your Serene Highness is of a most placid and equable nature, a docile and easy disposition is best suited to you."

Duke Rinaldo married Charlotte Félicité, eldest daughter of John Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Lunebourg-Hanover, and whose sister Amelia was to marry the Archduke and future Emperor Joseph of Austria. Another marriage had meanwhile taken place in Paris. The young widow, Henrietta FitzJames, Lady Waldegrave, the King's daughter by Arabella Churchill, who, as we have seen, had been sent into a Convent by her father for being on the point of making a clandestine marriage with a natural son of the Duke of Tyrconnel, married Lord Wilmot in March, 1695. Henrietta and her husband went to Flanders, and thence, by the advice of her mother (than whom King James had no more implacable enemy), to England, where she made her court to William III by revealing all she knew of her unfortunate father's affairs. 1695

To what degree Lord Melfort deserved the accusations brought against him will perhaps never be known, but there is little doubt that he was one of the feeble counsellors and ill-chosen Ministers by whom it was so often James II's misfortune to be badly served, if not betrayed. Though we may hesitate to believe that he carried personal spite and vanity so far as to send the intelligence which led to the arrest of Sir James Montgomery, as Renaudot and the English Jacobites declared, he had proved how bad a judge he was of men by such instances as his recommending his former page, the traitor Fuller, to Queen Mary Beatrice in 1690, as recounted by Rizzini. The man became a notorious spy and informer, author of one of the worst libels against the Queen, and of so many accusations against important persons in England that the House of Commons declared him a "notorious impostor, a cheat and a false accuser, having scandalized their Majesties and the Government, abused the House, and falsely accused several persons of honour and quality." Journal of House of Commons, 24 Feb. 1694

James II dismissed Lord Melfort from his service in May, 1695, and he retired in disgrace to Rouen, where he remained until 1697, when he was permitted to return to Paris. He was succeeded as Secretary of State by Lord Middleton.

1695 William III having devoted three months to securing himself in his new character of sole monarch of England, was about to return to his army in Flanders. Rizzini writes, May 11, 1695, to the Duke of Modena :—"As to the dissensions with the Princess of Denmark, it is certain that Orange must feel some anxiety in leaving that kingdom ; but, on the other hand, she has not yet found any considerable party, and the death of Halifax must have been a great loss to her, as he was held to be one of her most important adherents and capable of greatly furthering her interests, so it is suspected in London that he was poisoned. . . . King James has been ill, but is now better. The Queen was greatly alarmed, for many years she had seen him suffer from no ills but those of fortune and of destiny."

Duke Rinaldo d'Este, constrained thereto not only by the difficult situation of the Italian principalities, but by his marriage with a Hanoverian Princess, drew closer to the enemies of France. His fear of disobliging the Emperor led him to forget all he owed to his niece so far as to receive James's envoy, the Earl of Perth, with scant courtesy, as he passed through Modena on his way to Rome. The Queen administers a dignified rebuke in the following letter, which, contrary to her usual custom, is written in French, and begins :—"Mon oncle," instead of the familiar "*Caro mio Zio*" . . . "I doubt not but that the conjuncture at which the Earl of Perth arrived at Modena, prevented you from giving him the welcome he would have received at any other time, and I wish to believe that the constraint in which you found yourself for his reception, was as vexatious to you as it was to myself. Neither do I doubt but that your intentions on my behalf are as sincere as the expressions of them are strong and obliging in the letter I received from you."

Lord Perth's mission to Rome was to obtain money, if possible, from Pope Innocent XII (Pignatelli). Mr. Caryll writes to him from St. Germains June 6th, 1695, that he is glad to hear of his arrival in Rome after so many hazards and sufferings :—"I doubt not but you will find there all ye outward civilitys you

can expect both from His Holiness and from ye Cardinalls, but to get any money from him to supply ye great necessities of His Majesty's suffering subjects for their loyalty and their religion I fear will be a difficult, if not impossible task." 1695

EARL OF PERTH TO SECRETARY CARYLL,

"ROME *June* 1695.

"I'm sorry that the Queen should have the least trouble that Hir Majesty's Unkle did not do all she might have expected towards one of hir servants: but as you well observe fear is sometimes too quick-sighted. Yet I shall be glad he be found to have no stop to his good designs towards hir Majesty's interests but what comes from fear. I find that at this place he's lookt upon as very German in his inclinations. . . ." Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library, vol. ii. No. 36

The following day Lord Perth reports his audience with Innocent XII, saying how he had demonstrated to His Holiness "that no earthly power could have hurt the King save by the concurrence of Catholic Princes, and not they neither if the King had been of the religion of his dominions. . . . That there was now in Rome a great talking of Peace, and upon such terms as if consented to, or even permitted, would be a stain upon His Holiness's Reputation and a reflection upon the Apostolic Chair. He said it was true; but what can wee do? I have done and wil do what humanly speaking is possible, but Catholic Princes wil not hearken to me, they have lost the Respect that used to be pay'd to Popes, Religion is gone and a wicked pollicy sett up in its place. But I said he could still prevent a Peace with the King's Exclusion in it. God knows, said he, to restore the King I wold give my blood, but Christians have lost all respect even to us! said he; but can it be believed, continued His Holiness, that I should ever consent to any Peace that excludes that Good King from his just right. God forbid, God forbid: but what will become of all this? The Prince of Orange is master, he's Arbitre of Europe, the Emperor and King of Spain are slaves, and worse than subjects to him. They neither will nor dare venture to displease

1695 him; and here he strook twice with his hand upon ye table and sigh'd. Last of all I lay'd before him ye pittyfull case of the Poor Catholics who, having follow'd their master were now reduced to Extreame Miserie. God help them, said he: but what can I do? If I should do anything, I'm cry'd out upon as favouring of France, who are pushing to be masters of all. However he said he was convinced that all I said was most reasonable, and that he wold think upon it. . . ."

The victorious campaign of William III and his allies in Flanders had now reached what Europe felt to be its culminating point, the siege of Namur. Should he succeed in retaking that important stronghold from the French, it would be difficult for Louis XIV, with so many wars on his hands, not to be obliged to accept terms of peace, rumours of which were already in the air. In July, James II went on one of his ordinary visits to La Trappe, and the Queen remained anxiously watching the political horizon, and engaged in the arduous task of trying to obtain the arrears of her dowry and her share of her brother's inheritance from Duke Rinaldo. Rizzini's letters are full of both subjects; he relates how the Venetian Republic has offered its mediation "and to send extraordinary Ambassadors everywhere." July 20, 1695, he says, he has communicated the Duke's answer respecting the Queen's inheritance :—"Her Majesty became very thoughtful and said she would write herself upon that and other subjects . . . . (*in cypher*) The resolution of the Venetian Republic to send two Ambassadors to Orange, which, the Queen concludes, is being done with the consent of this Court may contain, she fears (if it comes to a treaty of peace) clauses unfavourable to their Majesties. . . . It is probable, in view of what may happen under Namur, that the Most Christian King may not persist in his repugnance to recognise the Prince of Orange, as it seems that without that condition neither the Prince nor his confederates will have a hand in any negotiations.

"It is true that if Orange does not succeed at Namur, the King of France will be more free to maintain his first maxims;

but the Queen concludes that the contrary event will be attributable to pure necessity, and to no defect of friendship or constancy, and she and the King will trust to the guidance and protection of Heaven. . . ." 1695

The Assembly of the French clergy which had met at St. Germains, presented the timely gift of 7,000 louis, writes Renaudot to Abbé Gondi, to the poor Jacobites, to be distributed according to the orders of the King and Queen. Rinaldo's offers, on the other hand, respecting his niece's claims, had evidently been unsatisfactory to judge by her reply through Rizzini, that she would gladly resign her pretensions in his favour if she were in a different situation, there being no advantage she did not ardently desire for him ; but her present necessities are such that she cannot dispense herself from urging the claims which are in no way open to discussion, while leaving to a later time those requiring further examination. Rizzini adds that he has represented the exhausted state of the Ducal exchequer owing to the pressure of the times :—" Her Majesty expressed the liveliest pity, adding she was confident Your Serene Highness would show reciprocal compassion for her own." Rizzini goes on to describe the Queen's anxiety, "although she makes no outward sign, showing herself uniformly cheerful and courageous, whatever may happen. At the present hour her most anxious attention turns to the siege of Namur, on which depends the issues of peace or war, and the destinies (one may say) of the whole of Europe."

The town of Namur capitulated on the 6th of August to the Duke of Bavaria, and Count Tilly was appointed Governor. The Castle still held out under de Guiscard, the French Commander, with a garrison of 9,000 men.

MR. CARYLL TO THE EARL OF PERTH.

"ST. GERMAINS, 29 *August*, 1695. Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library, vol. ii. No. 129

". . . We agree in our sentiments, or rather in our apprehensions concerning a Peace. The truth of the matter is that the whole world crys out for it, and nowhere more than in France, not only

1695 amongst the People, but the greatest at Court, so . . . we are likely to be made the sacrifice of it. . . . What your Lordship has received from the mouth of His Holiness that he will have no hand in the wrong shall be done to His Majesty will be a great comfort to him and the Queen. . . .

The attention of the whole world is now bent upon the success of the siege of Namur. I can only tell you from hence that positive orders are given to attempt the relief of it at any rate. . . . The enemy has all possible advantages of ground which must cost us very dear in the first attacke, but if they are forced the whole army is utterly lost, and nobody can tell what may become of the Prince of Orange, his person. . . . I shall close my letter with the acceptable account of their Majesties' good health, not omitting the Prince and Princess, who thrive beyond expression, and as much as we can wish. . . . "

The Prince of Wales had been taken out of the hands of the women on his seventh birthday ; Dr. John Bellairs was appointed his preceptor in ordinary and Dr. John Ingleton under-preceptor. The Earl of Perth was his Governor.

Louis XIV had confided the relief of Namur to the Marquis de Villeroy, a man incapable of coping with the military genius of William III, and who retired from the attempt to relieve the beleaguered citadel on seeing, writes Rizzini, "the impossibility of attacking the enemy's camp, which art and nature had rendered impregnable."

De Guiscard capitulated September 3, 1695, "resigning to the Confederates, but a tumulus under which lay buried all that remained of so formidable a fortress. On the 30th there was a general assault, which was of the bloodiest, but sustained with marvellous vigour by the besieged, although reduced to half their number. . . . The siege was conducted . . . with courage, power and a profusion of all things, and the remarkable thing was to find soldiers of so many different nationalities so prompt, and so prodigal of their lives, although their interests were not identical. The greatest glory fell to the English, who, it cannot be denied, are warlike to the utmost . . . and despisers of death. (*In cypher*) M. de Croissy told me yester-

day in confidence that the Papal Nuncio having asked him if 1695
there was now any hope that His Majesty would yield more easily than before to thoughts of peace, he replied that this was not the moment to enter upon the subject, His Majesty having declared that he would listen to no such proposals, flattering himself that he can continue the war, and an offensive war . . . being bitterly annoyed at having lost time in a vain attempt at a relief, when, by turning his arms elsewhere he could have gained advantages . . . equalling those the confederates have reaped at Namur."

Thus did Louis XIV, blinded by the reflected radiance of his former triumphs, and by his yet unconquered pride, persist in a course which was to lead him from reverse to reverse to the treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht, and to the loss of his greatest conquests, made when Turenne won his battles, Louvois created his armies, and Colbert controlled his finances.

After reporting that William III has insisted that the Council of Regency shall confiscate the property of all those who have followed the exiled monarch to St. Germains, "a thing proposed before, but never executed, except upon some of the wealthiest, such as the Duke of Powis, who had £20,000 sterling a year, and which will greatly increase the burden upon their Majesties." Rizzini adds:—"Far from diminishing, the magnificence, sumptuosity and generosity of the Most Christian King towards their British Majesties seems to increase. At the same time, the gifts and rare talents with which the Queen is adorned, shine the more resplendently, coupled with her natural grace, vivacity and ready wit, the maturity of judgment she has acquired, and her exemplary piety."

"19 *November* 1675.

". . . The Queen has informed me that the more violent partisans of the Prince of Orange are urging him to marry, in order to change the succession of the Crown. . . . The more sensible politicians seem to think that, with his usual artifice, he will keep them all in suspense (the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the House of Hesse-Cassel are ready to give him their daughters)

1696 but will never take another wife in the doubt of the effect upon his interests, divisions in the kingdom seeming inevitable in such a case. . . . He saw the Earl of Sunderland, in passing, at his country house, no one knows for what purpose, though it may be presumed it was to secure him as a valid instrument in the present occurrences, and it is not to be doubted but he will find him useful, although (*in cypher*) he [Sunderland] has risked himself to send indirectly to their British Majesties notifications which may prove of service to them ; but it is not the first time he has known how to be zealous and perfidious to two opposite parties at once."

How openly Jacobite feeling was meanwhile showing itself in London may be judged by the fearless dedication of a life of Lady Warner, printed by Thomas Hailes, London, 1696, "To the Queen," and which, after expressions of warm affection and admiration concludes :—"Me thinks I hear the angel guardian of our island whispering in our sovereign's ear. . . . Rise, and take the child and his mother, and return into your country, for they are dead who sought the life of the child."

The third and last serious effort to re-establish King James was now to be made. "Parliament and the people were grumbling at the expense of the war," says the above-mentioned *Life of the Duke of Berwick*. "The Prince of Orange's army was in Flanders, and the best part of his fleet at Cadiz. . . . The King of England was occupied with nothing but the care of his soul, and had no thought of regaining his throne of which he had made the sacrifice to God ; but the solicitations of the Queen, his love for his son the Prince of Wales, and the fervent appeals of his faithful subjects prevailed with him to agree to the proposals made by several English lords."

A gentleman of the name of Powel came to St. Germains with the Jacobite proposals, and Louis XIV prepared a force of troops, which started on their way to Calais. "The British King takes with him," writes Rizzini to the Duke of Modena, 20 February, 1696, "100,000 doubloons in gold, furnished by the Most Christian King, and a force of the choicest troops, 8 to 10,000 infantry and ten squadrons of dragoons. . . . In a few days something positive will be known, and it is to be

presumed that there are symptoms of repentance in England as well as in Scotland . . . The Queen, disconsolate at the absence of her consort, and agitated by a conflict of hope and fear, spends the greater part of her time in prayer to obtain the divine assistance at this most important conjuncture." As on other occasions, however, the Jacobites wished the landing of the French troops in England to be the signal for their rising, while Louis XIV was equally firm in his resolution that his forces should act as auxiliaries to the Jacobite insurgents whom the Duke of Berwick was to command. "This determined the King of England," writes the Duke, "to send me to try and convince the English of the sincerity of the Most Christian King." Berwick finds them not to be shaken. "And to tell the truth, their reasons were good ; it was certain that as soon as the Prince of Orange became aware of a revolt . . . he would instantly send a fleet to block the French ports ; and those who had risen would find themselves compelled to fight with their new levies against a disciplined force which would speedily destroy them." 1696 Memoirs of Duke of Berwick

James II went to Calais, and there a great storm—for the elements were always unfavourable to him—arose and scattered the fleet of transports prepared to carry him across the Channel, and there also the Duke of Berwick returned with the news of the failure of his mission. "There being no appearance of making them [the Jacobites] change their purpose, and having moreover been informed when in London that a plot was being formed there against the person of the Prince of Orange, I thought—my principal mission being ended—I should lose no time in returning to France, so as not to be confounded with the plotters. . . . It may be useful to say a word of this conspiracy, which the Prince of Orange attempted to impute to his father-in-law, and to the Most Christian King. A levy of 2,000 men had been raised by Sir John Fenwick ; lieutenant Barkley of my company of body-guards was one of their officers, and met Mr Porter, a Catholic gentleman, in London, who told him he had thought of a plan which would greatly

1696 facilitate the proposed rising. He would undertake with some fifty men to attack the guard and seize the person of the Prince of Orange. Barkley liked the proposal, everything was settled, and the day fixed. I saw Barkley three days after my arrival in England, who informed me of the design ; and, although I did not think the thing as safe as they made it appear, I did not consider myself bound in honour to dissuade him from it ; but one of the conspirators, Prendergas, frightened at the danger, or rather with a view to a reward, discovered everything to Mylord Portland. . . . Several were taken, condemned and put to death.

" Porter, who had conceived and proposed the whole affair, finding himself arrested, and won by a promise of reward, bore witness against his friends and comrades. . . . Fenwick, who was totally ignorant of the conspiracy, was arrested. . . ."

Evelyn notes that all the executed men, while acknowledging their intention, acquitted King James of inciting them to it ; and " April 10 ; The quarters of Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, lately executed on the plot, with Perkins's head, were set up at Temple Bar ; a dismal sight which many pitied. I think there never was such at Temple Bar till now, except one in the time of King Charles II."

Rizzini meanwhile records the growing anguish of the Queen as the days passed in uncertainty and alarm :—

" Her Majesty spent three days at Chaillot but could not avoid giving audience to the Ambassadors and foreign Ministers . . who wished to compliment her on the hopes of a happy change of fortune, a change Her Majesty, however, holds for very uncertain. . . Before returning to St Germains yesterday, she deigned to inform me more particularly of her uneasiness at receiving no letters from Calais, nor any news from Versailles, and at the thought of the great risks her King is exposed to, as well as of the consequences which may ensue if his designs are again rendered vain . . ."

" 14 *March.*

" I found Her Majesty prepared with a constant mind for a fresh chalice of bitterness . . . though she had never flattered herself with the hope of a happy issue to this last, though certainly well-combined

design. (*in cypher*) Meanwhile people here are getting impatient . . . and are murmuring at these enterprises which never succeed, a fact they attribute to his evil star, which renders futile every effort to help His Majesty, while his presence here brings misfortune upon the kingdom. 1696

It is true these are the rumours of the blind and ignorant vulgar, afflicted by the disasters of a long war, but nevertheless they have a bad effect. Others say that for his own honour's sake he should hazard all, and even perish rather than return to St Germains. . . "

The Queen was using every effort to persuade Louis XIV to allow his troops to accompany her husband to England, and the Duke of Berwick was sent from Calais by James on a hasty mission to Versailles for the same purpose, but Louis inexorably refused, and Mary Beatrice, writing to Sister Priolo, asking for prayers for resignation to the will of God, adds :— "The King is still at Calais, or perhaps at Boulogne ; as long as he remains there he must have some hope. . . ." The hope failed, and James returned to St. Germains on the 5th of May, the Queen going to St. Denis to meet him, "and it was noticed," writes Rizzini, "that when their Majesties embraced, their countenances were far more cheerful than could have been thought possible."

"PARIS, 23 *May*, 1696.

". . . The Papal Nuncio has been to St Germains, and the British King has given him a full account of his projected descent into England ; he also thought proper to assure him of his innocence respecting the supposed couspiracy."

"30 *May*, 1696.

"Last week I found the Queen much afflicted at the loss of the faithful subjects executed in London, and also at the confiscation of the property of those who are actually in their Majesties service at St Germains . . . Mr. Caryll, their Secretary of State, has been deprived of an estate worth £2,000 a year . . ."

"6 *June*.

"Their Majesties have gone to Chartres, and from there to La Trappe."

1696 In spite of failure and of William's stern reprisals plotting went on in England. Renaudot, who had written to the Marquis de Croissy that he had rid himself of a Quaker, and wished he could do the same of many more, writes July 13th :— "I am very glad occasion was taken to enquire about Pigott, as he said at Calais and at Boulogne to Mr. Jones and to Crosby that he had a passport from the Prince of Orange. . . .[1]

As early as the month of August, 1696, William III let it be known to the Court of France that he might entertain the idea, at the coming treaty of peace, of recognising the Prince of Wales as his successor to the throne of England. Rizzini alludes to it in a letter of August 21st :—" . . . A very judicious remark of the Queen has been much admired ; during a discussion respecting the willingness of Orange to secure the succession of the crown to the Prince of Wales, Her Majesty replied that of two usurpers she could more willingly suffer the present one, than her own son."

James II had hardly returned from his unsuccessful attempt to regain his crown, when another crown, that of Poland, was offered him. Rizzini remarks, 12 September, " . . . Some persons look upon the desire of the Poles to elect the King of England to that throne as an effect of divine Providence, for both the nobility and the people seem filled with a general inclination in his favour. . . . There will be opposition on the part of the Austrian faction ; but the chief difficulty lies in the fear of prejudicing his rights and those of the Prince of Wales to his own throne, and in the natural reluctance to resign the hope of sooner or later, in one way or another, recovering the crown which has for so many centuries been hereditary in his royal line. However that may be, one cannot but admire the religious, pious and respectfully affectionate sentiments of that population towards the British King."

[1] Marginal note by de Croissy :—"You will find that Pigott is no better than the rest ; that is the certain result of all enquiries concerning those persons."

Louis XIV seems to have entered heartily into the design, 1697
and urged the Queen to persuade her husband to accept so dignified and honourable an issue from the difficulties of his situation. But Mary Beatrice applauded the King's refusal, which he based on the plea that ambition had no place in his heart, he held that the covenant between him and his people was indissoluble, and that he could not accept the allegiance of any other nation without violating his duties to his own.

Duke Rinaldo seems to have deplored the opposition to William III's proposal, for Rizzini writes to him in November that he has not ventured to touch upon His Serene Highness's counsel touching the Prince of Wales's rights, "as their Majesties have the most potent motives to the contrary." He also states that the generosity and kindness of Louis XIV towards the King and Queen have suffered no diminution since the refusal to accept the crown of Poland.

The peace which would, at the time Mary Beatrice sought for it with so much insistence, have helped to restore her husband to his throne, was now approaching as the crowning triumph of their enemy. Rizzini writes, 23 January, 1697 :— " . . . Peace is drawing near, and if it is to bring a day of serenity everywhere else, it will be for their Majesties a night of bitter mortification . . .

" The news from England is that Sir John Fenwick has at last been condemned to death, but the execution is deferred for fifteen days, as he expresses some intention of making revelations as to the supposed conspiracy . . . If he does so, he may save his life, as Orange would not be displeased to preserve a witness who could convict others accused of designs against himself." As Fenwick accused Malborough, Godolphin, Shrewsbury and Russell of complicity in designs against the government, his sentence was speedily executed, and Rizzini recording it 20 February says :—" Sir John Fenwick was executed on the 7th inst. ; he left a writing in which he declared he died an Anglican, that he had conspired, not against the Government, but with the sole desire that the

1697 succession might remain in the direct line; he expressed his fidelity to the King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales; he was 57 years of age, and died with great intrepidity, without revealing matters which might have endangered persons extremely well-disposed to their sovereign . . . .

"A few weeks ago the King of England sent a paper to the Pope containing his justification against all that has been so iniquitously charged against him. The writing was sent with the participation of the Most Christian King, but with great secrecy; since then, however, it has been thought proper to publish it, and it is now being printed . . . "

The Duke of Modena had sent a small remittance on account of what he owed the Queen, and she writes him a grateful letter of thanks for the 1,000 doubloons and the other 1,000 which are promised. "If we were not so pressed ourselves, we should not have pressed you at present, but as I told you before, necessity knows no law. I can frankly say, however, that no necessity is harder to me than that which compels me to ask and to importune, it is a trade I have assuredly never exercised, and which I cannot practise without great pain. I pray you therefore to spare me, and to remember of your own accord to satisfy that just debt.

"I rejoice to see peace finally established in our Italy. I pray God to make it lasting, and that our poor country, and your states in particular may soon recover from the long and terrible oppressions of the war."

There is an interesting letter, written to the Electress Sophia of Hanover by Madame de Brinon, a nun, at the Convent of Maubuisson, of which the Princess Louise Palatine of Bohemia, the elder sister of the Electress, was the Prioress, and known as Madame de Maubuisson. The letter is dated :—"Maubuisson, 22 February 1697," and after alluding to the prospects of peace, says :—

Brit. Mus. King's MSS. 140

"Our good King James sees all this very calmly and virtuously. He suffers, not only as a saint, but as a king incapable of baseness, the loss of three crowns, which God will repay him in Heaven, if he does

not restore them to him on earth. I always remember that as soon as he arrived in France, he immediately sought Madame de Maubuisson, and finding himself almost alone with the community, he praised the happiness of true religious, and speaking of the loss of his kingdoms, said that to be truly great, you must have a heart above your greatness. . . 1697

The Queen of England is no less saintly, and in truth it is a great happiness to be so in the midst of such misfortunes. I have been told by a lady of her court that she despoils herself of everything to help the poor English who have followed them, and has sold even the diamond buttons of her sleeves . . . Is it possible, my dear Electress, that the Confederate princes will not open their eyes to the merit and the innocence of these oppressed sovereigns? Will they be forgotten in the general peace? It seems to me that all the Powers should put an end to these miserable conflicts, which have desolated Christendom, and re-establish the legitimate King . . . I always speak to you, my very dear Electress, with the frankness of friendship. I tell you my thoughts as they come from my heart, and it seems to me that Your Serene Highness thinks as I do."

Rizzini, March 20, 1697, alludes to the same subject. After conveying the Queen's thanks to the Duke of Modena for his promise to try and wean the Emperor of Austria from his great attachment to the Prince of Orange, he adds :—

"Her Majesty and her family are well, but with the clearness of her judgment on the present state of affairs, the uncertainty of seeing them improve in the future, or rather the fear of the contrary, the approach of the fatal moment which will see, amid general applause, the full triumph of their enemy upon their own ruins, cannot but be as so many stabs in her sensitive and tender heart."

"*May 8th.*

". . . Orange has had an attack of tertian fever, and it is observed that he is much attenuated; nevertheless he prorogued Parliament himself, and has embarked for Holland with his plenipotentiaries . . . as the conferences at Ryswick open on the 8th or 9th instant . . . Meanwhile the campaign is beginning, and three powerful French armies are going into Flanders. On the Rhine also, and in Catalonia, there will be stronger armies than usual."

1697 QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO THE SUPERIOR OF THE CONVENT OF THE VISITATION AT MODENA.

"ST. GERMAINS, 3 *July*, 1697.

Archives Visitation Convent, Modena

"I am here, dear Mother, in as great tranquillity as I was with you, but alas, not with that fervour in the service of God in which He would make me advance by the means of tribulation. Our affairs are in an uncertain and lamentable state. My consolation is that they are in good hands, because they are in God's. I am certain that all that may happen to me will be for the good of my soul, in comparison with which what is a kingdom, or even the loss of mortal life? *Deus meus et omnia*, that is my canticle. If I weep sometimes, I repeat it weeping . . . *Deus meus et omnia* is the cry of my misfortunes.

I do not forget you, my dear mother, nor all my dear Sisters."

The treaty of Ryswick, while it recognised the sovereignty of William III and the consequent exclusion of King James, stipulated that an appanage of £50,000 a year should be paid to Queen Mary Beatrice. Rizzini joyfully announces the news from Fontainebleau, 1 October, 1697, saying that the Queen is anxious to know if the Emperor had any share in procuring it her. ". . . The point is, will it be regularly paid, as it is well known the Queen Dowager has great difficulty in getting a small portion of hers."

William III took care that the money should be regularly paid by the English Treasury, for, as we shall see, it never went further than his own pockets. His plenipotentiaries made a determined effort to obtain the dismissal of James II from St. Germains, but were met by an equally resolute refusal from the Marquis de Boufflers, Louis XIV's representative.

The Duke of Shrewsbury wrote to the Earl of Portland [1] July 27 / August 7 :—"To be convinced of the consequence of this, one needs but reflect on the advantage the present King, when Prince of Orange, made of such full intercourse as was then between London and the Hague."

"Memoirs of Affairs of State," Christian Cole, 1733

Rizzini describes the courtesy of Louis XIV to his exiled

[1] Plenipotentiary at Ryswick.

guests, whose arrival at Fontainebleau coincided with that of the news of the articles of the peace :— 1697

"They, however, without giving the least sign of surprise or interior commotion, sustained the blow with intrepid strength of soul."

"9 *October* 1697.

"The King of France's precaution having gone so far as to forbid the performance of any music on the subject of the peace, or that it should be mentioned during their Majesties stay, everything was spoken of except current affairs.

Their Majesties cannot divert their thoughts from the dangers to religion in Ireland. It is true the Emperor's envoy made representations to the English plenipotentiaries that the rigours of Parliament against the Catholics in Ireland might be moderated . . . but it is feared his good offices will avail nothing through the cunning of Ruvigny, a French Huguenot, the bitterest enemy of the Catholics, and one of the chief heads of the Government there . . . Ruvigny has already obtained the confiscation of the estates of all the Irish who sided with the King, or died in his service; so great numbers of rich and noble families are reduced to beggary, and the Duchess of Tyrconnel, who is with the Queen, loses something like 100,000 scudi a year, and the finest palace in that country. . . "

The Ruvigny here spoken of was the son of the fine old Marquis de Ruvigny, whom Louis XIV, in the days of his tolerance, had employed in many important services, even that of Ambassador to England. At the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Ruvigny had settled in England, one of his sons was killed in William's service at the Battle of the Boyne, and the other[1] was now dealing out to the Catholics of Ireland yet sterner measures than his family had met with at the hands of Louis XIV, and proving once again the pernicious effects of persecution.

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO SŒUR DÉPOSÉE (title of *ex-Superior*) AT CHAILLOT.

"ST. GERMAINS, 12 *October* 1697.

". . . Notwithstanding all that has happened, we are really content with our great King; he was greatly disturbed that we should arrive

[1] Created Earl of Galway in 1700.

1697 at Fontainebleau with the messenger bringing the news of the peace, and gave us great marks of friendship, of pity, even of sorrow . . . Moreover, nothing is changed with regard to our remaining at St. Germains, it seems to be decided from what he said ; I say, *seems to be*, for in truth, after all we have seen, how can we be sure of anything in this world ? They have promised the King to give me my dowry ; I begged him to get it paid through him, for I wish neither to ask nor to receive anything but from him."

St. Simon asserts that the recognition of William's kingship was little less bitter to Louis XIV than to James II himself. When the King first began to think of marrying his illegitimate children to Princes of the blood, he had offered the hand of his eldest daughter, by Madame de la Vallière, afterwards Princess of Conti, to the Prince of Orange, who had answered that the Princes of Orange were accustomed to marry the legitimate daughters of kings, and not their bastards. (His mother was daughter of Charles I, and his grandmother of the Elector of Brandenburg.) Louis XIV never forgave this refusal of what he considered an honour to an obscure prince, and, according to St. Simon, his Ambassadors had orders to traverse him on every occasion, not only in public but in private affairs. After endeavouring by every means in his power to recover the friendship of the French monarch, the Prince is said to have exclaimed :—"So be it ; if I cannot gain his love, I shall strive to merit his consideration."

William III's recognition of the Prince of Wales as his successor, if James would acquiesce, and would leave him in quiet possession of the throne during his lifetime, mentioned by Rizzini in August, 1696, was actually the subject of a secret article of the peace of Ryswick. How far he meant to be bound by the article is a point which was settled at once by the prompt refusal of the King ; and even before he could speak, the Queen impetuously cried, says the Duke of Berwick in his Memoirs :—"I would rather see my son, dear as he is to me, dead at my feet, than allow him to become a party to his father's injuries." So the King of France changed the

conversation. James's answer was that he could bear the usurpation of the Prince of Orange and the loss of his crown with Christian patience, but not that his son should be instrumental to his wrongs. "It was, if I dare say so," continues Berwick, "a great imprudence to refuse such an offer." 1697

The peace brought an influx of English to Paris, and Rizzini, December, 1697, after mentioning that the Prince of Wales being now old enough to wear the Garter when he goes to Chapel with his father, the King had sold a precious stone he wore in his hat to buy the insignia, goes on to say:—"Many young Englishmen were at the Court festivities; they were curious above all to see the King and Queen, asking if the Prince of Wales was there, but he only went once with the Princess his sister, to compliment the Duke and Duchess of Bourgogne."

Dangeau and St. Simon tell us of the magnificence of the wedding festivities of the young Duke and Duchess, and how the Queen of England put the bride to bed, and sat between the two kings at supper and at the balls, which were splendid beyond precedent.

Bentinck, Earl of Portland, was appointed Ambassador to France, and Rizzini writes 29 January, 1698, that he is expected from day to day:—"but it seems doubtful whether he is commissioned to pay the money due to the Queen, as he has orders to complain that the King is styled King of Great Britain in the Paris Gazette. Orange thus shows his animus against their Majesties, and little inclination to do justice to the Queen."

"29 *January* 1698.

"... There has been a fire at Whitehall, and a great part of it has been destroyed. Mylord Clancarty, one of the King's Guards, has been arrested. He left St. Germains a short time ago to meet his wife in London, and she being the daughter of Mylord Sunderland, he hoped he might not be molested, although he is a Catholic. ...

Portland is expected on Friday, a number of his people have arrived, with some of his carriages and 124 horses. All who come from London say that Orange appears extenuated, and more than

1698 usually troubled with his asthma and cough. . . Yesterday the news arrived of the death of the Duchess of Berwick at Pezenas in Languedoc, having been advised to go there by the doctors for the benefit of the air."

"Life of Duke of Berwick" "The Duke's grief endured to the end of his days. He had the heart of his beloved wife placed in a silver box, and kept it ever near him."

RIZZINI TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"19 *February* 1698.

"Mylord Portland is making every effort to obtain the removal of their Majesties from St. Germains, and the sad thing is that if he cannot succeed in sending them away, he will not consent to the payment of the Queen's £50,000, although it has been granted by act of Parliament. . .

This goes against the public faith of the treaty, it being notorious to all the world that an authentic act of Orange's promise was passed. . . . If he is the first to repudiate such solemn engagements, the Most Christian King may hold himself dispensed from observing his promise not to disturb him in his usurped possession of the English crown."

"27 *February*.

"The King of France has resisted with heroic firmness Portland's renewed instances for the removal of their Majesties, preferring to expose himself to the necessity of renewing hostilities, (although against his wish) rather than submit to such a demand. The answer was given in peaceable terms; but with the most valid reasons, and in a manner to prevent the resumption of the subject. Portland threatens in consequence to defraud the Queen. . ."

"12 *March* 1698.

"Portland has made his public entry . . . He had about a hundred livery-men in finest blue cloth trimmed with handsome silk galloon, but little gold. There were twelve mounted pages with waistcoats of rich cloth of gold; more than fifty footmen, and twelve splendidly mounted grooms, each with a led horse.

The carriages were not admired; the two first, made in Paris, were second or even third rate. Two made in London were very costly, but not to the French taste . . .

The Embassy will soon be at an end, Portland meaning to leave immediately after Easter. It is to be hoped he will have failed in

his two chief commissions, although he persists in urging upon the ministers of the Crown, that their British Majesties should at least withdraw to Chambord, and that the Irish Brigade should be disbanded, part sent into the Austrian service in Hungary, and part to that of the Venetian Republic in the Levant . . . (the number is 10 to 12,000 men). As for the Queen's dowry, M. de Tallard, the French Ambassador in London, is charged to obtain it, but although the non-payment would be a manifest infraction of the treaty, there is little hope of success." 1698

COUNT OF TALLARD, FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON TO LOUIS XIV.

"11 *April.* 1698.

". . . . As I was retiring. . . . he [William III] said :—'*Hoça*, I have something to say to you in my turn. It is on a subject I prefer to let my Ambassador treat of, than to do so myself, but it is in order to continue speaking frankly with you. You know that the Earl of Portland has already spoken to the Most Christian King of the withdrawal of King James, and so long as he remains at St. Germains, I do not know what I can do in order to contract as close a union as I am disposed for, with the King, your master.' I answered him. . . . that the article had been exhaustively treated between M. de Boufflers and Mylord Portland ; he interrupted me by saying he knew that, that he asked for nothing in virtue of the treaty of peace, but expected it from the friendship of Your Majesty, who could easily find expedients for removing King James ; that Avignon, Modena, Rome were all the same to him." Affaires Étrangères

"8 *May.*

". . . When this was ended, he wanted to come back to King James. I stopped him, saying : 'Sire, in God's name, do not take the trouble of referring to a matter on which I could only repeat the words I had the honour of saying to you on the last occasion. . .'"

"9 *May* 1698.

"King James still has many friends in this country ; it is certain that if the enterprise of La Hogue had succeeded, the greater part of England would have declared for him ; and it is true that the King of to-day has no solid basis for his maintenance in the country except his army, of which he is master, and the neighbourhood of the Dutch, of whom he is equally sure."

1698 After Lord Portland's return to England, Matthew Prior, the poet and secretary to the English Embassy in Paris, wrote to his master, Lord Halifax :—"You never saw such a strange figure as the old bully [James II] is, lean, worn, and rivelled. . . . The Queen looks very melancholy, but otherwise well enough, their equipages are all very ragged and contemptible. I have written to Mylord Portland the sum of several discourses I have had with the Duke of Lauzun, or rather they with me, about the pension which we were to allow the Queen. Do we intend, my dear master, to give her £50,000 per annum, or not? If we do not, I (or rather mylord Jersey) should now be furnished with some chicaning answers when we are pressed on that point, *for it was fairly promised*, that is certain."

RIZZINI TO DUKE OF MODENA.

"14 *May* 1698.

". . . The Prince of Wales has been seen by the English gentlemen who were very eager to have sight of him. The occasion presented itself at a Falcon chase given by the King of France in which he took part. They were delighted with him, for he is always pleasant to look upon, but on horseback he is seen to wonderful advantage for the grace, lightness and gallant daring which at his tender age give him a special dignity and charm."

"2 *July* 1698.

". . . Her Majesty intended to go to Chaillot the day before yesterday for the Feast of the Visitation, but on Sunday was seized with a cold, which was the prelude of a sharp attack of fever. . . . The King was to have gone to the monastery of La Trappe according to his annual custom, but he has delayed his journey on account of the indisposition of his consort.

The Queen's illnesses proceed more from the sufferings of her mind than from defects of constitution, although naturally delicate, for this reason they do not last long . . . (*in cypher*). When I was at Versailles, M. de Torcy told me he had news from London that the birthday of the Prince of Wales had been openly celebrated with great demonstrations of joy, and that the vessels in the Thames fired salutes. . . ."

In July the Queen had the satisfaction of hearing that a son

had been born to the Duke of Modena, and she writes to the Duchess :— 1698

"St Germains, 23 *July* (1698).

"To you, next after God, my dear Aunt, do we owe thanks for the happiness which has come to my family by the son to whom you have given birth. I have felt as you may well believe, and I still feel great joy. I thank God with all my heart, praying him to preserve this dear child, and to give you others; I do not despair of seeing half-a-dozen before six years have passed, if you continue as well as you have begun. . . ."

Among her many labours for the suffering Jacobites, obtaining grants and places from the Pope for exiled ecclesiastics, recommending young men for foreign service and employment in foreign courts, placing young girls in convents, and supporting orphans and widows, we find the Queen at this time acting as mediator between her cousin, the errant Duchess of Mazarin, who still lived at Chelsea, the pensioner of William III, and her husband.

The Queen to Duke Mazarin.

"St Germains, 14 *August* 1698.

". . . I am informed from so good a source that the Duchess of Mazarin is in the best possible disposition for returning to France, if you would be willing to receive her, that I feel bound to write to you with the proposition. Such an action would crown all your other good works. It would perfectly correspond with the idea the world has conceived of your piety and charity, and would replace in the right path a person who, in spite of her errors, has always been dear to you. Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

I beg you to let me know your sentiments thereon."

The Queen's good offices were fruitless, and the Duchess remained in England till her death.

In October the King and Queen went to Fontainebleau to assist at the wedding of Mademoiselle, daughter of the Duke of Orleans by his second wife, Charlotte, Princess Palatine, with the Duke of Lorraine. A few days after the marriage the Queen writes to a nun at Chaillot :

1698 "FONTAINEBLEAU 17 *October*.

"According to my promise I send you news of myself from here, which are good, thank God, so far as my health is concerned, though the life I lead here is very different from that of St. Germains; I have hunted four times in very good weather, and the King, as usual, overwhelms us with kindness. . . Our departure is fixed for next Wednesday; that of the Duchess of Lorraine made us all very sad, she was so afflicted herself, that one could hardly look at her without tears. Monsieur and Madame [Duke and Duchess of Orléans] were, and still are, sad to see. . . The young bride's bearing in all and towards all charmed every one, and me in particular, for I have always loved her, and esteem her now more than ever. I saw Madame de Maintenon twice, she has been indisposed, but is now recovered; yesterday I began quite naturally on the chapter of Challiot with her, I told her all we had agreed upon, and many other things; she told me she had spoken to the King of the state of your house."

The Queen's frequent solicitations on behalf of Chaillot seem to have been sometimes an embarrassment to Madame de Maintenon, who on one occasion pleaded the lateness of the hour for not continuing the subject, and, on another, rather offended the Queen by rising and leaving the room without answering.

"Their Majesties very enemies," says Rizzini, "can do no less than praise the Queen; a gentleman in Orange's service, led by curiosity to see the wedding of Mademoiselle, now Duchess of Lorraine, said to a person of his acquaintance that the presence of the Queen gave lustre to the splendour of that solemnity. Even Mylord Jersey, the new ambassador, speaks of her with great respect."

COUNT OF TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

"LONDON, 29 *December* 1698.

Affaires Étrangères

". . . I told him [William III] that I had taken the liberty to confide to Your Majesty what he had said to me regarding King James; . . . you had replied that Your Majesty's honour was engaged to leave the King of England, who had retired to St Germains, free to remain there so long as he pleased; that Your Majesty's determination on that point was unalterable, but if ever the King felt a desire

to go elsewhere, you would make no opposition. He answered— 1699
'But the desire will never come to him, unless it is instilled into him!"

The anxious negotiations went on with respect to the Queen's dowry. "Orange has declared," writes Rizzini to the Duke of Modena, 25 January, 1699, "that he will not give money which he suspects will be used against him; wherein he is much mistaken; but reason has little force when it contends alone against an absolute will."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO CARDINAL ALEXANDER CAPRARA.

"ST. GERMAINS, *February* 1699.

"I beg you to present my very humble thanks to His Holiness for his charity towards our poor subjects, driven from Ireland on account of their faith. I take the occasion of saying that I have heard of complaints reaching the ears of the Holy Father, of a pretended unequal distribution of his preceding donation. I am not greatly astonished, when I remember that the same complaints were made even in the time of the Apostles, but it appertains to the equity and prudence of His Holiness and his ministers to examine the matter thoroughly, before believing such reports; and for their enlightenment the King, my lord, has ordered the Bishops and ecclesiastics who made the distribution, to draw up an exact account with the names of the persons who participated in it, by which it will be seen that the King added 9,000 livres of his own to the money sent by His Holiness. . . ." Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO MÈRE DÉPOSÉE.

"*February* 1699.

". . . The King had some fever a week ago, which did not prevent him from hunting at Marly, where we went the day before yesterday, and stayed until one o'clock in the morning watching the young people, and the old ones, dance. I take very little pleasure in all that, and when it is over I feel very tired. . . . With regard to affairs, the English Parliament has had small *complaisance* for the Prince of Orange, as it has taken away his army, and he has had to agree to it, and pass the act, seeing there was nothing else to be done." Chaillot MSS. Archives Nationales

1699 "The House of Commons," writes Evelyn, "persists in refusing more than 7,000 men to be a standing army, and no strangers to be in the number. This displeased the Court party."

How greatly it displeased William III may be seen in a passage of a letter of January 6th to Pensionary Heinsens :— "Matters in Parliament are taking a turn which drives me mad."

The Queen concludes her letter :—

"The Electoral Prince of Bavaria died at Brussels of small-pox in the night of the 5th February. Many rumours are current with regard to his death, the King of Spain having named him as his successor."

In May the Queen went to Marly, and there is an enthusiastic account in Rizzini of her delight in the place—"in the gardens, since the King's new improvements, the fountains . . . the immense quantities of beautiful flowers, the order, method, and convenience of the paths and arbours (*pergolati*) . . . the constant changing of the flowers, where in the morning there is one kind, in the afternoon you find another. . . . The hills are being levelled to enlarge the view, and the great waterfall at the end of the gardens will be formed by all the streams conducted there."

The Duchess of Mazarin died at Chelsea of dropsy in July, her sister, the Duchess of Bouillon, had started for England, but hearing at Dover that the Duchess was dead, returned to France without landing.

"Her husband's hardness in giving her no assistance," writes Rizzini, "even in the unhappy state of health in which she found herself for several weeks before her death, increased her sufferings and accelerated her end ; and it was almost impossible to inspire her with Christian sentiments for the dread passage to the other life.

The course of her life, and her lamentable end, are a great example of the vanity of earthly opulence and greatness ;—a lady of noble lineage, of famous beauty, allied to the greatest houses in Europe, and of royal blood, with a dowry of 14 millions of francs, obliged to live in exile in the vile commerce of cards and dice, and to die destitute of divine and human aid."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO DUKE MAZARIN 1699

"It is not only the proximity of blood which makes me participate in your just sorrow for the death of the Duchess of Mazarin. I enter into all the reasons you can have for grief. We do not know how great is the mercy of God, nor how far it may extend. We must not venture to set any bounds to it, and it is our duty, in the most grievous events of our lives, to submit to, and acquiesce in, what God has ordained. These are truths which we must not only know, but put in practice every time God puts us to the proof. . . ." Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

EARL OF MANCHESTER, ENGLISH AMBASSADOR IN PARIS, TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.

"At St. Germains they still please themselves with the hopes that the nation will recall them at last. One George Mills, living at the sign of the Ship, Charles Street, Westminster, came hither three weeks ago. He says he has letters from fourteen Parliament men; he is still at Fontainebleau, where he expects dispatches from England. I believe I shall know where he goes, and which way. One Thomas Johnson, too, who keeps the Cook's Arms, a victualling house near Lockit's. "Memoirs of Affairs of State," Christian Cole

Mrs. Evans is gone for England. She saw King James and the Queen, was conducted by Birkenhead. It is believed that Mrs. Evans, who is the wife of a hair-merchant in the old Bailey, brought and carried back letters. A sort of button has been invented, which every-one that engages for King James, wears in his coat. . . ."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO SECRETARY CARYLL.

"FONTAINEBLEAU, 21 *Sept.* 1699.

"The King orders me to send you back these two paquetts, and tell you, that he likes both the lrs very well . . . i hope they will come to you before Dr Witham leaves Paris, and that he has in his hands my son's picture, for it were pitty to loose this opportunity; for my part, i admire in these lrs the sacrifice of your reason, which is made so intire, that one would sweare you writt your owne sense, i wish it may turne to as good an account as the king expects. . . ." Caryll Papers

Before the end of the year King James fell seriously ill; the Queen wrote to the Déposée at Chaillot:—

"ST. GERMAINS, 28 *Nov.* 1699.

"Much as it cost me to leave you so suddenly the other day, I do not repent of it, for the King was too ill for me to be absent from

1699 him ; he was surprised and very pleased to see me arrive, he has had very bad nights and suffered greatly for three or four days, but thank God, since yesterday he is much better. . . . My own health is good, God does not send me all kinds of afflictions at once, He knows my weakness and spares it. . . .

I recommend my son to your prayers, he is to make his First Communion at Christmas, please God. . . ."

RIZZINI TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"16 *December* 1699.

". . . . The English King has almost recovered from the tumour, which lasted nearly a month. . . . The Queen is in very good health, and so are the royal children, the Prince of Wales in particular. . . ."

EARL OF MANCHESTER TO EARL OF JERSEY.

"PARIS, 23 *December* 1699.

"Memoirs of Affairs of State," Christian Cole

"I have had no intelligence from St Germains of late, because the late King's illness put a stop to all business there. He is now perfectly well recovered, and dines in publick : so that though he looks thin and wasted yet they think his life is quite out of danger."

EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR MATTHEW PRIOR.

"PARIS, 2 *January* 1700.

". . . . There is nothing at present acting at St Germains, King James being not well, and giving himself wholly up to Devotion and Prayer. The *Wound*, which was very large, is healed ; but it is thought they have done it too soon. . . . He is extreamly broke and most men are of opinion he cannot recover tho' he may go on some time as he is."

The Queen, writing to a Chaillot nun, 7 January, 1700, to thank her for her prayers for the First Communion of the Prince of Wales, continues :—

"Thank God that dear son appeared to me in very good dispositions ; I could not restrain my tears to see him make his First Communion, it seems to me that I offered him to God with all my heart, asking Him to let him live but to serve, honour and love Him ; the child appears to me well resolved to that. . . . *Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in eo.*"

Duke Rinaldo sent his niece a small remittance of his debt to her, and Rizzini, writing to acknowledge its arrival February 24, 1700, continues :—". . . . Their Majesties no longer venture to speak of the appanage due to the Queen in England, because they perceive the Court does not wish to take any steps ; in the first place because its efforts would meet with no satisfaction, and for other political considerations. . . ." 1700

The following letter to Sœur Déposée of Chaillot makes the first mention of the tumour in the breast which was to trouble Queen Mary Beatrice for the rest of her life :—

"25 *March* 1700.

"I have an hour before supper to give you my poor news, the word is a true one, for I have nothing good to say of either my body or my soul, which are in a poor and languid condition. . . . As to my body, I cannot say that I am ill, but I have still that gland in my breast, which does not decrease. . . . I do not know what God means to do with me. . . . I try to abandon myself without reserve into his hands, that he may do in me, of me, and by me all that he pleases. You know that what little devotion I have, rests principally in the last words of the Gospel of this great day [Annunciation B.V.M.] *Ecce Ancilla Domini.* Say them sometimes for me, I beg of you."

"16 *April* 1700.

". . . . If God hears my prayers for you, and yours for me, we shall become two great saints. I have made many resolutions during this holy time [Easter] to do my best to become one, but alas ! I am so miserable that on the smallest occasion I break my strongest resolutions. . . ."

Pope Innocent XII had made numerous gifts of money for the poor Jacobites at St. Germains, and at the commencement of the Jubilee year of 1700 had sent a Brief to Mary Beatrice, dispensing her from the necessity of going to Rome in order to gain the indulgences granted there. She writes him a letter of thanks, 16 April, 1700, congratulating him at the same time on his recovery from an attack of illness, and ending :—"Among all the titles attached to the supreme Pontificate, I think there is none more glorious in this world, nor in the

1700 next, than that which exemplary, almost unprecedented charity has earned to Your Holiness of 'Father of the Poor.' . . ."

At the end of April Rizzini announces the second marriage of the Duke of Berwick. Anne Bulkeley, daughter of Sir Henry Bulkeley and of Sophia Stuart, a relative of the King's, was the chosen lady, and the marriage seems to have been a happy one.

EARL OF MANCHESTER TO EARL OF JERSEY.

"PARIS, 22 *May* 1700.

"Memoirs of Affairs of State," Christian Cole

"Last Thursday was a great day here. The Prince of Wales, as they call him, went in state to Nostre Dame and was received by the Archbishop of Paris with the same honours as if the French King had been himself there. After Mass, he was entertained by him; and your Lordship may easily imagine that all the English that are here ran to see him. . . . I must confess I am surprized to see things of this nature so often done, considering the present state of affairs."

The balance of the Queen's marriage portion was at last paid, and James II writes in May to thank Duke Rinaldo, and to say that the Queen and he have duly signed the receipts. "You have not only accomplished an act of justice towards me, but also of charity towards several noble families to whom I am obliged to give bread, because they are exiles from their country, after losing their estates for their religion and for their fidelity to me . . . "

The question of Duke Francesco's legacies to his sister now became the subject of much correspondence between the Queen and her uncle. The young Duke, completely under the influence of Prince Cesare, had inserted a clause to the effect that he bequeathed to his sister "all that should be expressed and signified" by that Prince, to whom he had confided his wishes and intentions on the subject. The Queen desired that Cesare might be interrogated, to which Rinaldo replies that they have too many reasons to suspect that prince, whose actions are known to the world, to take any such step, and begs the Queen

to leave the matter, and the interpretation of the Will, in his hands. The negotiations came to no conclusion during Mary Beatrice's life, and her son, writing after her death, speaks of going to law with his great-uncle to obtain a settlement of the matter. 1700

Important news reached St. Germains early in August, that of the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, the last surviving child of the Princess of Denmark, thus leaving the Prince of Wales, as the natural heir of his two half-sisters as well as of his father, with a three-fold claim to the throne of England. As the news first reached the ears of Lord Manchester through one of his St. Germains spies, it seems probable that the Princess, who was undoubtedly at this time in correspondence with her father, sent him private and immediate news of her son's death. "He had been declared," writes Rizzini, "successor, after his mother, to the Crown, and was regarded as the future defender of the protestant religion in the three kingdoms. He was eleven years of age; on his birthday, July 25th, there was a ball at Court at which he got over heated, fever supervened, the small-pox declared itself, and he died in four days . . . The consternation is great in London, because the difficulties are foreseen as to finding a substitute with any right to the succession, to the exclusion of the legitimate king, and his incontestable heir, the Prince of Wales. By the death of the Duke, the Prince is freed from the most formidable rival he had, and were it not for the point of religion, he would perhaps be proclaimed at once, on condition of leaving the usurper in possession for his life-time; meanwhile no calumnies are being uttered against his birth."

The same day, August 18th, Lord Manchester writes to James Vernon, Principal Secretary of State:—". . . Seven thousand medals of the pretended Prince of Wales are to be stamped by *Rotier* who is here, and sent to Captain *Cheney* who formerly lived in *Hackney*, but is now in some part of Kent."

No official intimation of the death of Mary II having been

1700 made to the Courts of Versailles and St. Germains, they had not taken mourning for her, Louis XIV forbidding, says St. Simon, the Dukes of Bouillon and Duras, and others related to the Prince of Orange from doing so. In the case of the Duke of Gloucester, the Court of St. Germains, writes Rizzini to the Duke of Modena, took mourning, "for the reason that the tender age of the Prince, prevented him from having any share in the crime of rebellion, and usurpation against his grandfather, as was the case with the Princess of Orange, and should not be debarred from the marks of respect due to his rank." This action seems to confirm the opinion that the Princess Anne had sent notice of her son's death to the King her father.

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO MÈRE DÉPOSÉE AT CHAILLOT.

"ST GERMAINS, 29 *Aug.* 1700.

". . . . No order has arrived from Rome regarding our poor Jacobites; on the contrary the Pope is very ill, and I think he will die without having given any, so we resolved yesterday to sell a few jewels to pay the pensions for September, and then we shall do the same each month unless help comes from elsewhere, of which I see no likelihood. Do not afflict yourself about all this, my dear mother; as for me, I feel more astonished than afflicted, and as for our poor people, I shall never think I have done my duty, until I have given all I have, for only then shall I be able to say with truth that I have nothing left, and can do no more.

As for the death of that young prince, it has produced no visible change as yet, but of necessity it must do so, and perhaps sooner than is expected here; we follow our good rule of keeping silence, and placing all our trust in God. . . .

I must thank our dear mother for the good figs and peaches.[1] My only complaint is that she sends too many and too often; we shall eat some at Chaillot, please God, next week, as I hope to be with you on Tuesday at five o'clock, for Compline. . . ."

A new friend, who was to remain her very devoted and faithful servant, now came into the life of the Queen, in the person

[1] Chaillot repaid, with its gifts of fruit, the presents Mary Beatrice used to send as a child from Sassuolo to the Visitation nuns at Modena:—"I send you a basket of peaches," she wrote in August 1672, "eat them for love of me."

of Monsignor Gualterio, the new Papal Nuncio at the Court of France. A scholar, the founder of a rich library in Italy, with a noble and independent character which found favour at once with Mary Beatrice, his correspondence with her is full of interest. Her first letter is dated 1700

"St. Germains, 1 *Sept.* 1700.

"I cannot acknowledge the receipt of your letter, without at the same time expressing a thousand cordial thanks for the interest you take in all our concerns, and for the hearty zeal with which you co-operate for the success of our affairs; words fail me to express how much the King and I are obliged to you, and how much we desire the occasion of proving our gratitude. . . . I shall of course follow your advice when I see the Most Christian King, which will not be before the end of the week; your letter shall be burned at once, and when you have occasion to write to me, you will give me double pleasure to do so without ceremony, as to a real friend who has for you a confidence and esteem equal to your merits." Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 39, f. 66

Queen Mary Beatrice to Secretary Caryll.

"Fontainebleau, 3 *October* 1700.

"I send you back Monsignor Caprara's letter, the King does not foresee that he can have any businesse with the French Ministers in case of a conclave, and therefor does not think it necessary to speake to these here about it, for you know, that wee make our Court by not meddling with any businesse. . . . I hope the aire of Paris agrees as well with you, as this does with the King and me, for I thank God wee have been extremely well, ever since wee came hither; as for news, Madame de Maintenon has at last told me that she had given the account to her King of what i had sayd to her some time ago, and that when he comes back from Fontainebleau he will not fail to do what i desire, wee did not come to name a summe quitt, but spoke of 3,000 or 4,000 Louis d'or; she entered also with me to speake of other affairs, which is more than she had don for a long time befor, but that must keep cold till i see you; this King has been but once in private with us, and i find that he thinks the Prince of Orange is not well, he is as civil and kynd to us as he uses to be, and wee as modest and as silent as to anything of businesse. Lord Manchester at last is to be here next Friday to give notice of the death of the young Prince of Denmark, i wish after staying so long that he had stayed three days longer, and wee should have been gon. . . ." Caryll Papers

1700 During this visit to Fontainebleau, Dangeau remarks that the Queen gave up play, a resolution she was to retain during the rest of her life.

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO A NUN AT CHAILLOT.

"ST GERMAINS, 13 *October* 1700.

". . . . At last our Holy Father [Innocent XII, Pignatelli] is dead, and the poor King of Spain [Charles II] also ; the news arrived at Fontainebleau two hours after our departure, it had been expected at any moment for the last three days ; we must not cease praying with regard to all these events that God may protect and sustain his Church by giving it a good Pope, notwithstanding all the cabals, which, they say, are greater and stronger than they have ever been, but God is infinitely above all that, and can overrule them to his own glory, in one way or another.

. . . . One night at Fontainebleau, as I was saying my prayers, my night *cornettes* caught fire, and burned down to the cap without burning a hair of my head." (Cornettes were three high stages of lace, stiffened with wire, placed upright from the brow, and the Queen gratefully attributes her preservation to the prayers of her Chaillot friends.)

CHAPTER XII

THE Abbé de Rancé, the great reformer of La Trappe, died in the autumn of 1700, and the Queen alludes to his death in the following letter to Chaillot, Nov. 26th :— 1700

> ". . . I send you copies of two letters from La Trappe . . . all our sisters will be glad to know something of the death of that holy abbot ; . . . and I must say that I read and re-read the letters with pleasure, especially the portions which prove the saintly and tender affection that admirable man had for us ; when I see you I shall show you the things mentioned in the letters, and which are very precious and venerable to me. . . . I was grieved at first on hearing of his death, but I quickly consoled myself with the thought of his happiness, and the hope of experiencing in myself the effect of his prayers, for I am sure he does not forget us. . . ."

Charles II of Spain had, by his will, nominated the Duke of Anjou as his successor, who was now proclaimed with the title of Philip V, an event, writes Rizzini, which will make a great noise, in England also, considering that the whole monarchy of Spain will be vested in a French Prince.[1]

The King and Queen of England went to Versailles to congratulate the monarch elect, whose advent seemed not without promise to their own cause, and the Memoirs of the Baron de Breteuil describe how the two princes, meeting at the door of the presence-chamber with all the rigidity of ceremony

[1] The Emperor immediately protested, prepared to attack Lombardy, and proclaimed his second son, the Archduke Charles, under the title of Charles III, opening the War of the Spanish Succession, which was to endure with varying fortunes until the peace of Utrecht.

1700 dear to them both, the Queen cried :—"Embrassez-vous, donc!" and advancing to the Duke of Anjou kissed him heartily, saying :—"Sir, I assure you our own misfortunes do not prevent us from rejoicing greatly in the honour which has come upon you ; I hope you may be as happy as you are great." After this compliment, they walked abreast to the bed-chamber, where they sat on three equal *fauteuils*. Four days later, Philip V went to St. Germains in his mourning-cloak of black cloth, with a train a yard and a half on the ground, first to the King, then to the Queen, and lastly to the Prince of Wales, who conducted him to his carriage, always walking first.

EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

"PARIS, 11 *December* 1700.

"Memoirs of Affairs of State," Christian Cole

". . . I cannot tell you from whence they have at St. Germains an apprehension that the P. Prince of Wales will be carried into England, with his own consent ; and upon this they have increased his Guards, whereas he had formerly but six, he has now fourteen. They think their Game so very sure, that there is no occasion he should make such a step. Besides, the changing of his religion will never be suffered, and they have lately declared that they would rather see him dead."

RIZZINI TO DUKE OF MODENA.

"22 *December* 1700.

"I was at St. Germains when Nuncio Gualterio arrived to present the Brief in the Pope's hand [Clement XI, Albani] upon his elevation ; it was conceived in such terms of paternal affection as to draw, more from the heart than from the eyes of their Majesties, tears of emotion, with every demonstration of joy at the exaltation of one whom they had so greatly esteemed as a Cardinal, and now regard as a worthy successor of St. Peter, . . . and a vigilant, indefatigable Pastor of his flock."

Lord Melfort, who had been allowed to return to Paris in 1697, brought upon himself, at the beginning of 1701, a fresh exile by an act of imprudent folly which did infinite harm to the cause of his master. He wrote a letter to his brother, Lord Perth, stating that there was a powerful party in Scotland

ready to rise in favour of King James, and that it was fully the intention of that prince to re-establish the Catholic religion in England, with the help of France. "I do not know," writes St. Simon, "nor did any one know, how it came about that a letter addressed to St. Germains went to London. King William communicated it to Parliament, and made great use of it against France, who thought of nothing less, and had plenty of other affairs on hand in supporting the Spanish succession; moreover so important a design would not have been imparted to the Earl of Melfort, in the position in which he found himself at his own Court and at ours. Melfort was sent to Angers for his pains, and was greatly suspected. I do not know whether rightly or wrongly." 1701

A key to the enigma lay for two centuries in the Archives of Modena. Rizzini first alludes to the letter, which contained the assertion that Lord Middleton must be dismissed before anything could be done, as a probable forgery:—"at every opening of Parliament since the Revolution something of the kind has been produced." But, March 16, he says:—"Their Majesties are greatly concerned about that letter which has made so much noise in England, as it has transpired that it was written by Mylord Melfort. . . . The servant charged to deliver it to one of the usual messengers of St. Germains in their Majesties' service, . . . not finding him, and seeing that the courier for the Court of England was on the point of starting, without reflecting upon the difference between the Court of England at St. Germains and that of London, left the letter at the Post Office, and the superscription being written in English, without further question it was despatched by the courier of that Government. . . ."

On a Friday in Lent, 4th of March, 1701, the exiled King and Queen were attending Mass in the Chapel Royal of St. Germains when, as the appropriate words "Recordare Domine,"[1] "*Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us: consider and behold our reproach. Our inheritance is turned to*

[1] Lamentations, Chap. V.

1701 *strangers, our houses to aliens,*" were chanted by the choir, the King fell forward in an attack of faintness which lasted half an hour. The Queen was so affected to see him thus that she became almost as ill as he. As at Salisbury thirteen years before, a violent attack of bleeding from the nose supervened, and by order of Louis XIV's chief physician Fagon, who was sent to him next day by that monarch, it was decided to try the waters of Bourbon. Louis visited the King before his departure, and appointed the Marquis d'Urfé to accompany the English Court on the journey with all fitting state and convenience. The English Ambassador, the Earl of Manchester, who wrote almost daily to Secretary Vernon on the progress of James's illness, reports :—" March 26. . . . His stay at Bourbon is to be three weeks. He is to be eleven days a-going, and as long coming back. . . . They desired but 30,000 *livres* of the French Court for this journey, which was immediately sent them in Gold. I don't know but they may advise him after that to a hotter climate, which may be convenient enough on several accounts."

"Memoirs of Affairs of State," Christian Cole

" *April* 6.

" King James is gone to Bourbon. He lay last night at the Duke of Lauzun's house at Paris."

The Queen kept her friends at Chaillot informed of her husband's progress, which was hindered by an attack of gout, and of her own movements. " I have not yet seen our Sisters at Moulins [the Visitation nuns had an important convent there] . . . I shall go some day expressly to see them." The nuns at Moulins were much edified by the Queen's piety. " She was seen to follow the procession on Corpus Christi on foot, without a parasol, without an equerry or train-bearer, a taper in her hand, and with an angelic modesty which filled all who saw her with admiration. We have had five queens here, whom I remember very well, but not one to be compared to her," writes the Superior to Mother Priolo, May 27, 1701. Another convent visited by Mary Beatrice during her stay

Prince of Wales and Princess Louise Marie.

National Portrait Gallery. *Largillierre.*

at Bourbon was that of "La Charité" on the Loire. She describes its great poverty in a letter to Chaillot, explained by the nuns as the result of constant robberies, but of late they have kept a musket always loaded to fire on the bandits if they came. The Queen had noticed it, and wondered to see such a weapon in the cell of a nun. 1701

RIZZINI TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"*May* 18, 1701.

"I went to St. Germains yesterday, and found the Prince and Princess in perfect health. They have frequent letters from the Queen, to whom they write by every ordinary, and this correspondence with Her Majesty seems to give them a superiority to their tender age, which also appears in their intercourse with the persons who pay them court, a maturity of sense, frankness of discourse, judiciousness in interrogation and gravity of bearing; but all accompanied with a natural grace, and most amiable and gentle manners. . . ."

The Court returned to St. Germains on the 9th of June, the King but little better for the Bourbon waters. Lord Manchester reports on the 15th that "he cares of nothing, all things going now directly to the Queen."

The Queen, who had once written to the Italian nun, Angélique Priolo, during a slight indisposition of the King's, "Alas! you know, dear mother, and you understand, *chi ama, teme*," was now watching with the tenderest solicitude over her husband. He had a second seizure in July, which left the right side slightly paralysed, but he was still able occasionally, leaning on the Queen's arm, to pace in the sun on the beautiful broad terrace above the Seine, and "never was there seen," writes the Duke of Berwick, "greater patience, greater tranquillity, or greater joy than when he thought or spoke of death." The last stroke came to him as he was hearing Mass on Friday, 2nd September. "That poor King is dying like a saint. The Queen is in great desolation. . . . Madame de Maintenon hastened to St. Germains on Sunday, and spent part of the day with her." Dangeau's Journal

1701 RIZZINI TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"PARIS, 7. *September* 1701.

". . . After receiving the last Sacraments from the Curé of St Germains, the King charged him to beg the Most Christian King to give him no other sepulture than in the parish church, without any pomp, and near the bodies of his poor subjects who lie buried there. . . .

His Majesty's age, added to his entire detachment from earthly things, immersed altogether in the contemplation of eternity, would render him (even if he recovered) *poco o niente currante* of his own and his son's interests. The Queen, on the contrary, a princess of great sense, and so much clearness of judgment in all things, is alone capable of maintaining (as she has hitherto done as far as she could) all that concerns the temporal and spiritual interests of her children in the circumstances in which they are placed. Were it not for them, she would not hesitate a moment (in case of the loss of her husband) before retiring into a convent."

Mary Beatrice, on Louis's visit to her husband on the Monday after his seizure, besought him to recognise her son in the event of his father's death. "The King replied that the matter required some reflection . . . he looked upon her husband as a saint . . . and had a great inclination towards the Prince of Wales, but he could not recognise him without assembling his Council . . . accordingly the next day a Council was held . . . the Chancellor and the greater number of the Ministers opposed the measure, but the King and the Dauphin took part for the Prince of Wales, the King giving several reasons to prove that it was not contrary to the treaty of Ryswick, the Prince of Orange being King *de facto*, but the Prince of Wales would be king by the right of heredity, a right given him by nature, and which none could take from him . . . moreover he had no intention of assisting him to regain his dominions, as that would be contrary to the treaty."

Archives Nat. 5 K, 32

Meanwhile the dying King was making his last acts of penance and forgiveness, and recommending his son to the care of the King of France in a Will which the paralysis in his hand prevented him from signing, so Lord Middleton signed it by

his order in the presence of the witnesses, Perth, Griffin, Caryll, Stafford, etc. The Duke of Berwick records the words with which he comforted the Queen, convulsed with weeping :— "Think of it, Madam, I am going to be happy!" words which reveal a sum of past unhappiness which even the intimate knowledge of his wife could not count up, for only the heart knows its own bitterness. In his farewell to his little daughter, he bids her "Follow close the steps of that great pattern, your mother, who has been, no less than myself, overclouded with calamity, but Time, the mother of Truth, will, I hope, at last make her virtues shine as bright as the sun." 1701

Somers' Tracts, vol. ix. p. 342

Rizzini says that after taking leave of the Queen, "who kissed his hands, bathing them with her tears, and as if she could never leave them, the King tenderly dismissed her, and she saw him no more, lest the excess of her grief should distract him from keeping his thoughts entirely fixed upon God."

The day after the Council Louis XIV carried the news himself to St. Germains of his resolution to recognise the Prince of Wales, where it was gratefully received by the Queen, James himself responding to the King's announcement only by a look, "while the officers in the room, forgetting where they were, all cried 'God save the King!' which was perhaps the first time the cry was ever raised in the chamber of a dying sovereign."

Archives Nationales 5 K, 32

RIZZINI TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"ST GERMAINS, 16 *Sept.* 1701.

". . . When the Most Christian King confided to the Prince of Wales, in the Queen's room, his secret intention of recognising him as king, the young prince instantly embraced the King's knees, declaring that he would remember all his life that he owed the title to his Majesty. . . . Then he threw his arms round the Queen's neck in a transport of sorrow at the thought of his father's approaching death, and of compassion with his mother's grief, so that the Most Christian King had to take him away almost by force. . . ."

James II expired peacefully at three o'clock on Friday afternoon, September 16th, "it had always been his wish to die on a Friday," remarks Dangeau. His son was immediately saluted

1701 as King by the Pope's Nuncio, who had remained in constant attendance at St. Germains during James's illness, by France, and by Rizzini in the name of Duke Rinaldo, receiving the homage of the Duke of Berwick and all the Court of St. Germains, and being proclaimed at the Palace gates under the title of James III, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. St. Simon describes Louis XIV's conduct on this occasion as "more worthy of the generosity of Louis XII or Francis I than of his own wisdom," adding that the recognition of James III did that prince no good, while it did infinite harm to France, by provoking England, and bringing about the "Grand Alliance" between that country, Holland, and Austria, which was signed the following month. The Duke of Berwick seems to have held the same opinion, remarking that the recognition by France and Spain of James III was "one of the motives the Prince of Orange made use of to engage the British party in the war against those two countries." [1]

The Queen was removed to Chaillot a few hours after the King's death, where she remained until after the funeral, attended day and night by the nuns, ever ready to read her the consoling words of Holy Writ, or of St. Augustine's soliloquies, to share in her prayers and tears, and to listen to her words describing the last hours of her consort, whose death she compared with that of St. Stephen, who saw the heavens open.

James's body, having been embalmed, was carried the next night, Saturday, September 17th, to the house of the English Benedictines in the Rue St. Jacques, the procession stopping at Chaillot to deposit his heart in the chapel tribune beside that of his mother, while the *præcordia* was placed in the parish church of St. Germains, where it escaped the devastation of the French Revolution, and still remains.[2] Louis XIV had given orders that the short ceremony at Chaillot should take place as noise-

[1] Rizzini truly remarks, however, (Nov. 16th, 1701) that the preliminaries of the Alliance, in which a fresh partition of Spain was agreed upon, were signed by the three contracting Powers on the 7th September, nine days before King James's death.

[2] See Appendix B.

lessly as possible, so that the Queen might remain in ignorance of it, but when, dressed for the first time in her widow's habit, and the carriage to take her back to St. Germains stood at the door, she rose, saying :—"I have a visit to make before I leave, I will go and pay my duty to the heart of my good king ; I feel that it is here : . . . it is a relic I have given you, and I must be allowed to venerate it." 1701 Chaillot Journal

Preceded by the nuns, chanting the De Profundis, she went to the tribune, knelt and kissed the urn through the black crape which covered it, and then silently and tearlessly retired, to fall in a fainting-fit before she had made four steps, "which caused us to fear for her life."

RIZZINI TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"PARIS, 21 *September* 1701.

". . . The Most Christian King, with his usual solicitous and magnanimous attention to whatever may prove of solace to the Queen, as soon as he heard that the King's condition was hopeless, had a silver-gilt heart, bearing a royal crown, prepared for the reception of that of the King ; so when the Queen's officials ordered a leaden coffer as a temporary receptacle, they were surprised to find this silver heart ready prepared. The King wished Her Majesty to know nothing of it, but she, insisting upon going into the Chapel Tribune, was surprised to see her Consort's heart so nobly placed. . . ."

"23 *Sept.*

"The Queen will remain in retirement forty days before receiving visits of condolence from foreign ministers—and only from those who recognise her son. . . ."

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

"PARIS, 23 *September* 1701.

". . . The King of France made the P. Prince of Wales the first visit on Tuesday last ; he stayed but little with him, but was a considerable time with the Queen. The next day the P. Prince of Wales returned the visit to Versailles. All the ceremonies passed to the entire satisfaction of those at St Germains. . . ." Pub. Rec. Office, France, 697, xxxvi

"24 *September.*

"I have seen M. de Torcy, who did endeavour to put the best colour on this last proceeding. His chief aim was to show me that there

1701 was nothing in this contrary to the treaty of Ryswick; I could perceive that the French King was brought to it by the solicitation of the Queen at St Germains. It is certain that M. de Torcy, as well as the rest of the ministers, was against it, and only the Dauphin and Madame de Maintenon, whom the Queen had prevailed with, carried this point, which I am satisfied they may have Reason to repent of. . . ."

THE SAME TO MR. BLATHWAYT.

"26 *September*.

Pub. Rec. Office, France, 697,xxxvii "... The Will of the late King James is opened, but not yet published, but I hear it is to be printed. What I have learned of it is this, That the Queen is made Regent, the French King is desired to take care of the education of the P. Prince of Wales, that in case he be restored, the Queen is to be repaid all that she has laid out of her own, . . . that the new King shall not take any Revenge against his Father's enemies, nor his own; that he shall not use any force in matters of religion . . . I am told that Lorth Perth is declared a Duke, and Caryl a Lord. I do not doubt but we shall hear of several new Titles and Garters. Certainly there ought to be some Stop put to all this, else we shall not know where we are. . . ."

St. Simon and Dangeau William III was at Loo, at supper with several German princes and other lords when the news of his father-in-law's death reached him. He did not utter a word beyond announcing the fact; but he reddened, lost countenance, and pulled his hat down over his brows. He ordered Lord Manchester back to England, but took mourning for King James in violet "thereby affirming his pretension to complete equality with the King of France."

One of Mary Beatrice's first letters after the King's death was addressed to the Princess Anne, and bears date 27 September, 1701 :—

Clarke, "Life of James II" "I think myself indispensably obliged to defer no longer the acquainting you with a message which the best of men, as well as the best of fathers, has left with me for you. Some few days before his death, he bid me find means to let you know that he forgave you from the bottom of his heart, and prayed God to do so too, that he gave you his last blessing, and prayed God to convert your heart, and confirm you in the resolution of repairing to his son the wrongs done

to himself; to which I shall only add, that I join my prayers to his herein with all my heart, and that I shall make it my business to inspire to the young man who is left to my care, the sentiments of his father, for better no man can have. . . ." 1701

The day after her forty-third birthday, the Queen writes to the Superior of Chaillot that her health is good—"my heart and soul are sad even unto death. . . . I feel more and more the privation and separation from him who was dearer to me than my own life, and who alone rendered that life sweet and supportable. I miss him every day more and more in a thousand ways. In my first grief, I felt something like a calm beneath, but now, though perhaps it does not appear so much outwardly, I feel a deeper sorrow within me.

"Yesterday, my birthday, I made a day of retreat, but with so much pain and weariness and tedium, that so far from finding it a solace, I was oppressed and crushed down by it, as I am also with the weight of business, so much so, that in truth my condition is worthy of compassion. The God of mercy will have pity, and come to my aid; but here I feel it not, nor is it permitted me to find comfort, either in earth or heaven. Never had any one so great need for prayers as I have. I entreat of God to hear those which you make for me. . . ."

Louis XIV continued to James Stuart the pension of 50,000 *livres* a month, and the same number of guards he had allowed his father, and Mary Beatrice now entered upon her five years' term of Regency. Had she had the opportunity, she would doubtless have displayed some of the talent which had made her mother, the Duchess Laura, remarkable among the minor rulers of her time, but that opportunity was never afforded her. The people of England, won by her fascinating personality, had exempted her from their hatred, even during the frenzied period of Oates's plots, and it can scarcely be doubted that they would have yielded a loyal affection to the regal beauty, the modest majesty and virtue which charmed all those who came within her influence, had it again been brought to bear upon them. In the difficult situation of regent to an exiled prince,

1701 obliged to trust to information and promises of which the accuracy and integrity could seldom be relied upon, aware throughout that France had ulterior motives in her support of the Stuart claims, unable to make her constant cry for peace penetrate into the belligerent Catholic Courts of Europe, hampered by the care of her poor population at St. Germains, whose support absorbed the means which, had they been ten times what they were, would have been as nothing compared with the wealth at the command of William III and of Anne, the Queen yet had her own well-defined policy, grounded upon her step-daughter's promises and those of the English Tories and Jacobites, and which, had those promises not proved fallacious, would in all probability have resulted in the tranquil restoration of her son. The words of her letter to the Princess Anne, reminding her of her resolution to repair to James's son the wrongs done to himself, reveal the hopes upon which she relied, and which were to guide her future conduct to the last, however often the stress of circumstances might force her to take part in other schemes foredoomed to failure.

Mary Beatrice's first step as Regent was to publish a manifesto in the name of James III, setting forth his claims. It had no visible effect in England, but in Scotland the Duke of Hamilton and the confederate Lords sent Lord Belhaven to St. Germains to endeavour to persuade the Regent to entrust them with the person of her son. Lord Belhaven arrived in November and remained three months; he had been one of William's subtlest agents before 1688, which caused him at first to be regarded with distrust, but his protestations of loyalty were such as to remove that impression. After several interviews with Lord Middleton, he was received in private audience by the Queen, February 2, 1702, when he declared to her that if the Prince would embrace the Protestant religion, it would be easy to obtain his recall, even by Parliament, as the recognised successor of William III. He represented how desirable this would be; for "England is so superior in force to Scotland, both by land and sea, that unless he had a strong

St. Germains MSS. Bib. Nat.

party, he would not, as King of Scotland, be able to conquer England." Belhaven even promised to declare him at once, without waiting for William's death, if he would turn Protestant. The Queen made answer, that she "would never be the means of persuading her son to barter his hopes of Heaven for a crown ; neither could she believe that any reliance could be placed by others on the promises of a Prince who was willing to make such a sacrifice to his worldly interests." 1702

Belhaven expressed regret at her stiffness, and then asked on behalf of Hamilton and the confederate Lords, that if the Prince adhered to his religion, he should at least make a compact not to suffer more than a limited number of Romish priests in his kingdom, and engage to make no attempt to alter the established religion in either realm. This the Queen freely promised in the name of her son. Then his Lordship engaged in the name of his party to do all they could to oppose the English Parliament in the Act of the Hanoverian Succession.

The Queen's anxiety expresses itself in a letter to one of the Chaillot nuns, February 1, 1702. "I am ashamed to tell you, that for several days I have slept less, and wept more, than I have done for some time. . . . I beg for particular prayers, to obtain enlightenment from God on the business which we have at present *on the tapis*, and when it is put home to me, is likely to augment my troubles. This is for yourself alone. . . ."

In the course of subsequent interviews with Lord Belhaven, Mary Beatrice declared that neither her husband, her son, nor herself had ever entertained designs to the prejudice of the Church of England. All they desired was toleration for those of their own way of thinking, which, she added with some emotion, she considered was only reasonable. Belhaven begged her to let the Prince go to Scotland. He was only known by name, if he was once seen, the people would be ready to fight for his cause. But to this the Queen could not consent. Her son was but thirteen years of age, and as his guardian, she declared that she felt herself responsible to the late King, his father, and also to the people of England, who would, she

1702 doubted not, one day recall him to the throne of his forefathers, and she could not take the responsibility of consenting to his incurring so great a peril. Rightly or wrongly, Mary Beatrice had a firm belief that the assassination of her son had been contemplated by the Prince of Orange at the time of her flight with him from England ; the fact is mentioned more than once by Renaudot and Rizzini, but without explanation or comment, and there seems to be no evidence extant of the grounds of the Queen's belief. Apart, however, from any such fear, the proposal to send her son into Scotland at the age of thirteen was not one which her maternal affection and prudence could allow her to entertain without more certain guarantees for his safety and the success of the enterprise than the confederate Lords could furnish.

In England meanwhile the Anglo-Dutch Cabinet had sought to counteract the movement of sympathy which seemed stirring in the breasts of the people for the legitimate heir and his mother, by renewing the ancient calumnies against his birth. James II had scarcely been in his grave a month when William III's despicable tool Fuller presented, 17 October, 1701, to Parliament, to the Lords Justices, the Lord Mayor, and several Ministers of State, a book entitled :—" A full demonstration that the pretended Prince of Wales was the son of Mrs. Mary Gray, undeniably proved by original letters of the late Queen and others, and by depositions of several persons of worth and honour, never before published ; and a particular account of the murder of Mrs. Mary Gray at Paris. Humbly recommended to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament. By W. Fuller, Gent."

It was in substance a republication of the libel for which he had been pilloried nine years before, and for which the House of Commons, despite a strong hint that Fuller was protected by the King, again declared him a cheat and a false accuser.

William III left Loo for England in November, and immediately caused a Bill to be brought into the House of Commons for attainting the son of the man for whom he and

his household were in mourning. Burnet ingenuously regrets that though "the Bill could not be opposed, much less stopped, yet many showed a coldness to it, and were absent on the days on which it was ordered to be read." The Bill subjected the Prince of Wales to the penalty of being executed without a trial, or any ceremony other than a privy-seal warrant, in the event of his falling into the hands of the reigning sovereign. The next step was to include Mary Beatrice by a parenthesis into the same Bill, "the pretended Prince of Wales, and Mary, his pretended mother." Though strongly opposed, Compton, Bishop of London, being among those who voted against it, the Bill passed the House of Lords, but the Commons, to their honour, stoutly refused even to put it to the question, and throwing it under the table, consigned it to oblivion.

1702

Journal House of Commons, 13 William III

While the Bill was before the House of Commons, the Queen wrote to the Superior of Chaillot :—25 February, 1702 :—

> ". . . The affairs of which I spoke in my last letter are not domestic affairs, which go on well enough at present, but matters of great importance. . . ."

And among the Chaillot documents there is a translation by Mary Beatrice of the Act of Parliament attainting her son. It is endorsed :—"1702. Several sheets which appear to be written in the hand of the Queen of England, widow of James II, containing the copy of the Act for convicting the pretended Prince of Wales of high treason." About the same time the Queen writes to Angélique Priolo :—I have need of consolation, for I am overwhelmed with distress, and these fresh affairs are very disagreeable. Alas ! they are never otherwise for me. Entreat of God, my dear mother, that he would give me the gifts and grace to bear them, but above all, those of wisdom, of counsel and of strength, whereof I am at present in such extreme need."

One consolation, perhaps the greatest which could satisfy and enhance her love and reverence for the husband whom she

1702 regarded as a saint, was Mary Beatrice's, in the conversion of Lord Middleton to the Roman Catholic Church under circumstances which are related by St. Simon :—"Lord Middleton had been ill for some time, when, at the end of December 1701, King James appeared to him in a vision, telling him he would recover, that he owed his health to the King's prayers, and that he must become a Catholic." The Queen burst into tears of joy when Middleton related the incident to her the next day, and announced it to Angélique Priolo. "I send you the good news of Lord Middleton's conversion, which I have known for several days . . . the only pleasure in truth of which I have been sensible since the death of our sainted King, to whose intercession I cannot but attribute this miracle, the greatest, in my opinion, that we have seen in our day. . . I will tell you the particulars when we meet, but at present you must be content with learning that he left us at 7 o'clock yesterday morning to go to Paris, to put himself into the hands of the Superior of the English Seminary there (who is a holy man) for some weeks. I am about to send this news to Madame de Maintenon. . . Let us confess that God is good, my dear Mother . . . that His mercies are above all and through all His works, and that He is to be blessed for ever. Amen."

Chaillot MSS. Archives Nationales

William III's state of health was such that the Jacobites hoped by gaining time in the passage of the Bill enforcing the oath of abjuration of James Stuart through the House of Commons, where it was strongly opposed, that the King might die before the third reading. They did not succeed, and the Bill was carried to Kensington Palace, March 7, 1702, where William lay dying—the broken collar-bone resulting from the fall from Sir John Fenwick's old horse Sorrel having accelerated the end of what Evelyn describes as his "aguish" condition with "a long cough and other weaknesse." As James II had been unable, six months previously, to sign his last Will, full of charity and pardon to his enemies, so now the nerveless hand of his nephew and son-in-law could not give expression to his

William III. and Mary II.

British Museum.

last act of enmity, and a fac-simile stamp had to be affixed to the Bill in his presence. He died next day, March 8, aged fifty-two ;—"worn out before his age," says St. Simon, "by the labours and affairs which had filled his whole life, and possessed of a capacity, an address, a superiority of genius which gained for him supreme authority in Holland, the crown of England, the confidence, and to tell the truth, the perfect dictatorship of all Europe, France excepted." 1702

Queen Anne succeeded as peacefully to the throne of England as her father had done eighteen years before, but in Scotland James III was proclaimed at Inverness immediately upon the death of William III, by Simon Fraser, commonly styled Lord Lovat, one of the most baffling characters of the uneasy time in which he lived, serving and betraying in turn the cause for which he was at last to die, with the words upon his lips :—"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." Outlawed in 1701 for a forcible marriage with the Dowager Lady Lovat, sister of the Marquis of Atholl, he had run over to St. Germains twice during the previous year, in his own words "to dissipate calumnies against the sincerity of his Jacobitism," while he went on from there to William III at Loo. Soon after proclaiming James III, Lovat went to St. Germains to persuade the Queen to allow her son to go to Scotland, engaging to raise 12,000 men if France would give money and arms, and land 5,000 troops at Dundee, and 500 at Fort William.

Mary Beatrice made the same answer as to Lord Belhaven ; the youth of the Prince and the good intentions of Queen Anne inclining her, with the full assent of her two ministers, Middleton and Caryll, to trust to amicable conventions for her son's restoration. The Duke of Perth, on the contrary, urged her to a more energetic policy, showing her a letter from his son, the Marquis of Drummond, saying the principal Lords were ready to take up arms. Lord Middleton replied urging the youth of the Prince, and the infirmities of Queen Anne as reasons for a quiescent policy, which the attitude of the Electress

1702 Sophia herself served to confirm. In her well-known "Jacobite letter" to Mr. Stepney, envoy of the Court of Brandenburg, she expresses herself reluctant to benefit by the misfortunes of her royal kindred, and desirous that the nation would take into consideration the unhappy case of "le pauvre Prince de Galles," that he might rather be thought of than her family, since he had learned and suffered so much by his father's errors, that he would certainly avoid them all, and make a good King of England.

Onslow's Note to Burnet

Mary Beatrice was also aware of the avowed reluctance of Sophia's son, so that although they had consented to Parliament settling the Protestant succession in their family, she apprehended little contest in that quarter. The Duke of Perth remained unconvinced, and among his papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale there is a letter in which he severely censures the Queen's policy. Louis XIV meanwhile entered into a secret treaty, the draft of which exists in the Gualterio Papers, with Philip V and Clement XI, to restore James III to the throne, a project which the war of the Spanish succession, the genius of Marlborough and Prince Eugene reduced to a dead letter before any steps could be taken to carry it into effect.

Brit. Mus. Gualterio MSS. 20,294

Mary Beatrice had a serious illness in the spring of 1702, and writes May 2 to the Superior of Chaillot that the previous night "had been the best, and I can say the only entirely good one I have had for eight months. . . ."

Another spiritual favour, at the intercession of her husband, is the subject of the next paragraph :—"I am impatient to see the brother of the Curé of St. Poursain. I hope you will send him to me soon. I have seen about the conversion of souls, a greater miracle than the healing of the body, attributed to the intercession of our holy King, and which gave me pleasure, although I am not so sensible of it as I could wish. Alas, I know not of what I am made ; the only sensibility that remains in me is for pain. . . .

"I am ashamed of not having sent you all the money I owe you, I will do so at the first opportunity. I dare not tell you

the state I am in for want of money, it would grieve you too much. . . ." 1702

Lord Lovat made another visit to St. Germains in July, declared himself a convert to Catholicism, and obtained an audience of Louis XIV through the Papal Nuncio Gualterio. Upon his return to Scotland he showed the Duke of Queensberry,[1] the English Commissioner, a letter of which he was the bearer from the Queen to the Duke of Atholl, assuring him :— "that when my concerns require the help of my friends, you are one of the first I have in view." He had done his utmost to persuade Mary Beatrice to sell some jewels to raise 20,000 crowns, and to keep the matter a secret from Lord Middleton, while his letters to Lord Nottingham, commencing with his first appearance at St. Germains in 1699, prove him to have been the accredited spy of the English Government.

At the end of her first year of widowhood and regency, the Queen's thoughts seem to have been much occupied with the evidences of the sanctity of her husband. She writes, 4 October, 1702, to the Superior at Chaillot :—"As for the epitaph on the heart of our holy King, I am not of opinion that it should be proceeded with so soon, as it would not be permissible to expose that dear heart to the public, nor to venerate it as a relic, as it will be some day, if God will, and I think we must wait until then. Monseigneur d'Autun seemed to me of the same opinion, and the Cardinal, whom I saw for two hours yesterday after his retreat, confirmed me absolutely thereupon, saying that the time had not come. . . .

"I thank you for all you did for the holy King's anniversary, all who were present found that everything was very well executed, and with great order, which gives me pleasure, for if any sensibility remains in me, it is only for what concerns the memory of that dear King. . . ."

Among the unpleasant affairs alluded to by the Queen in her letters to Chaillot during the past year, not the least were

[1] James Douglas, second Duke of Queensberry, and the first Scotchman who joined the Prince of Orange, called by the Jacobites the "Proto-Rebel."

1702 occasioned by the conduct of her uncle, the Duke of Modena. As early as December, 1701, Rizzini had in a cyphered despatch expressed the Queen's consternation at the rumour that he was in secret intelligence with Austria, and meditated allowing that power to occupy Brescello, an important fortress in his states. The Queen warns him repeatedly not to play into the hands of the Emperor, and assures Louis XIV that "he is far too prudent not to keep possession of his fortresses." Rinaldo's letters are full of expressions of devotion to France, but early in January, 1702, Marshal Villeroy, commander of the French forces in Italy, sends word that the Austrians have occupied Brescello:—"Her Majesty was on the point of starting for Versailles with the King her son, but has changed her mind, feeling ashamed to appear anywhere. . . . She thought your Serene Highness would have guarded Brescello as the apple of your eye. . . . A letter has arrived from Cardinal d'Estrées, asserting that you had constantly assured him you would never cede Brescello to the Austrians. . . ."

The French troops were ordered to occupy Modena and Reggio, and the Duke and his family removed to Bologna. Rizzini's letters throughout the year are full of the subject, and when the ill-success of the French against Prince Eugène had resulted in the capture of Marshal Villeroy himself, Rizzini was inspired to suggest to Duke Rinaldo to make his peace with Louis XIV by obtaining the Marshal's release through the intercession of his sister-in-law, the Archduchess Joseph, Queen of the Romans. He writes August 28th:—"... The affection of the Queen of the Romans for her Most Serene sister will excite her to move heaven and earth in this urgent necessity. . . ."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"7 *September* 1702.

". . . Words fail me to express my distress at the deplorable condition to which you and all the family so dear to me are reduced . . . you will do me the justice to believe that there is nothing I would not do to deliver you . . . but for your misfortune and

for mine, it is not in my power, having spoken several times for you to the King without receiving any favourable answer, but on the contrary, much to my mortification, to hear him enlarge upon the way in which you had broken faith with him in so ugly a fashion, (such were his words). Madame de Maintenon, when I opened my heart to her, after many expressions of compassion and assurances of affection, advised me, as a friend, not to speak to the King again on the subject; that at present there was no remedy, and that I might do harm to myself without any possible good to you by continuing to importune the King . . . but that you might appeal to the Pope for his good offices with him, as I told her you had done with the King of Spain. . . . All the credit you assume me to have with the King would not suffice to hinder the ruin of a person who will take no single step to avoid it, as you know very well that you have given nothing but words here, and that all your acts have been on the other side. . . . All that has happened has appeared inevitable to me since you put Brescello into the hands of the Germans. You thus bound your own hands, and rendered those of your friends incapable of serving you. . . ." 1702

The news of Villeroy's release without ransom reached Louis XIV at Fontainebleau in October. St. Simon describes the King's pleasure, and at the further privilege accorded to the Marshal of not being conducted on his return to the French quarters by the troops of the victorious Prince Eugène.

The Queen expresses her pleasure at the success of the negotiations, and suggests to her uncle that he should declare himself for France and Spain, and Rizzini writes, 10 January, 1703:—

". . . If there has been moderation, it must certainly all be attributed to respect for the Queen, the source of any good which may result to Your Serene Highness and your Ducal house; to whom also may be attributed the grace of my toleration here, (added to the conduct I have always held, which has been displeasing to no one) . . ."

About the same time the Queen wrote to Nuncio Gualterio:—

"St Germains, *Friday morning*. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 36, f 62

". . . I have this moment received your letter, full of prudent reflections on our Scotch affairs, which can terminate in no other

1703 way than the one you propose. . . . I have resolved to send you to-morrow, not only the Lord [Lovat] who has come from Scotland, but also the Duke of Perth, who speaks better French, and knows not only the Highlands, but the Lowlands and the strongholds of Scotland, and who may be of great use in forming a plan, although I greatly fear that without troops from here, it will be found a very hard task to make a beginning. . . . I hope in God, his Vicar will not fail us, but I think an express should be sent to him; and that a sum of no less than 100,000 scudi should be insisted on; I confide this and all the rest to your friendship, and I augur well of our affairs, seeing them in the hands of no less prudent and zealous a person than yourself. . . ."

"22 *January*, 1703.

". . . I do not know in what state our Scotch affairs are at present, but I feel myself urged to write to you on the subject, as since I have heard they no longer wish to send a Frenchman, and think of sending the money at once, I greatly fear the King [Louis XIV] may not receive so good an account of the business, nor so great an advantage as could be wished, and which might be expected, if a little more precaution were taken; for this reason I beg you to manage it so that no final resolution be taken until I have spoken to you, or to M. de Torcy, whom I shall see at the end of the week; I also beg you that no Scotchman and no Frenchman, except M. de Torcy, may know that I have written to you on this subject. . . ."

Rizzini describes de Torcy as the kindest and most serviceable of all the French Ministers to the Queen of England.

The Queen's anxiety proceeded from the fear that Louis XIV., in spite of the private treaty of the preceding year, might not be disposed to send a French force into Scotland. She turns to her friends at Chaillot for the help of their prayers and as a refuge from her perplexities :—

"St Germains, 7 *February* 1703

". . . Pray to God for me, dear Mother, that He may teach me how to seek Him, that at last I may deserve to find him. Our holy King taught me, but I have no strength to follow his example. . . . I cannot forbear to tell you that Abbé Albani, the Pope's nephew, who was to have made the King's funeral oration in the Papal chapel, was so overcome that he could not pronounce it, and it

was postponed to another time in the hope of his being able to do so. 1703

Madame de Maintenon spent two hours with me yesterday. I shall try to lift my heart, which in truth is very low, and much oppressed; pray to that dear heart, which you possess, for the needs of mine, which are extreme . . . I always loved Chaillot, but never so much as now. . . ."

One of the Queen's most trusted friends, Donna Vittoria Montecuccoli Davia, Countess of Almond, whose husband had joined her at St. Germains, in order that she might remain in the Queen's service (and whom James II had created Earl of Almond) now fell seriously ill, to the alarm of her royal mistress:—

"Poor Madame Almond, alas!" she writes to a nun at Chaillot, "she is so far from getting better, that she has thought herself dying two or three times since the day before yesterday. . . . I wept her for dead yesterday, and yet I will not despair, for while there is life there is hope, but what say you, dear mother, to the great resolution of her son, who left last Saturday for la Trappe to become a monk, and end his days there; he said nothing to me about it until the day before his departure, and he spoke of it with a piety, a joy and a firmness of purpose which touched and edified me. His mother takes it as a good Christian, but it is impossible one's lower self should not suffer at such a farewell, and for ever. He has fought against his vocation for seven years, and would have gone two years ago, had it not been for his mother's illness."

Donna Vittoria's illness ended fatally, and the Queen writes in answer to the condolences of one of her friends at Chaillot:—

"You know better than any one the reasons I have for regretting her, and you give so true a description of the loss to me, that there is nothing to add to it; nevertheless I must tell you that my heart is so full of sadness and desolation since my great loss, that all others seem less grave than they would have been at any other time. . . . I have been interrupted so often while writing, that I do not know what I am saying. . . . The King is coming to-day, and perhaps Madame de Maintenon to-morrow."

1703 St. Simon, in noticing Donna Vittoria's death and the Queen's affection and great confidence in her, calls her: "A tall, well-made woman, with a great deal of wit, much appreciated at our Court."

The Queen had not much time to weep for the loss of her friend; important briefs had arrived from Rome, and she writes to Nuncio Gualterio, March 21 :—

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 46, f. 80

". . . I find the Pope's briefs very strong, and I pray God to inspire the King and the Cardinals to conform to the sentiments and to the zeal of His Holiness. . . . I wrote at once to Madame de Maintenon, and I received her answer last night at bed time in these terms:—'*The King will write to the Pope as you desire; M. de Torcy will give you an account of it.*' I sent Mylord Middleton to Versailles to speak to M. de Torcy, and to know when the King is sending his messenger, so that I may do myself the honour of writing to the Pope also; I am sure you will do so with all the force and affection you always display in what concerns me; I should think I did you injustice even to remind you of it. . . .

M. R.

I send you an abridgment of the life of our holy King, which is only just finished. . . ."[1]

Rizzini, in sending word to the Duke of Modena that the Queen has given him three copies of James II's *Life*, by his confessor, Father Sanders, to be sent at the first opportunity to Modena for himself, for the Duchess, his wife, and for the Duchess of Brunswick, says:—"It contains admirable things regarding the spirit of penance, of humility, and of mortification of that resigned and pious King."

Queen Mary Beatrice to Nuncio Gualterio.

"St Germains, 23 *April* 1703.

Ibid. Art. 4, f. 7

". . . I send you my letter for the Pope, and one from the King, my son, as I thought it his duty to help me to thank his Holiness for the great grace he has shown us, and above all the way in which it

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

[1] The Queen wrote to Cardinal Delfine:—". . . The miracles, by which it pleases God to honour his tomb, multiply daily . . . As his patience and resignation helped me to support our common afflictions, so now I hope his intercession will aid me to the end. . . ."

has been done. . . . I have written nothing yet to the Duke of Hamilton; Mylord Middleton is to see M. de Torcy to-day, and on Thursday I shall see the King, after which I will write; the man to whom I was to have spoken on Friday last, and who comes from Scotland, has brought me tolerably good news; they are too long for a letter. I shall merely say that he is sure we shall have a majority of votes in the Parliament. . . . He says that Hanover only sent £5,000, and that he will do nothing with that. . . . In two days I shall send a man to the Duke of Hamilton, and to the Bishops . . . which I hope will serve to re-assure and encourage them, the Duke of Hamilton himself asked me to send him. . . ." 1703

Neither the Queen's messengers nor the subsidies of the Pope, supported by the promises of France, could give cohesion to diversities of interests, tainted with disunion and suspicion, nor supply genius to incompetency. Jacobitism seemed to be spread all over the land, in Scotland and Ireland especially, in innumerable little rills all running into the ground for want of a master-hand to guide them into a stream which would have carried all before it. Mary Beatrice writes in one of her letters :—"There are very many well-disposed people, but they want a head." Such a head had appeared for one brilliant moment in the person of Dundee, whose irreparable loss to the Stuart cause was briefly epitomised in William III's curt :—"There is no need, Dundee is dead," in answer to his Ministers' advice to send reinforcements into Scotland.

The outcome of many negotiations was a paper of instructions to Lord Lovat, signed May 5 :—

"You are with all convenient speed to return to your own country, and to show this paper only to such of the Hyghlanders as knew of your coming hither, and had sent to us by you, and such others of them as you hope to bring to our interest. . . Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library

You are to assure them of ye great sence we have of ye past proofs of their affection. . . You are to let them know that the King of France hath promised us that whenever we shall be put in possession of our kingdom of Scotland by the faithful endeavours of our friends in that our ancient kingdom, he will then restore the Scotch nation to all the privileges they formerly enjoyed in France. . .

J. R."

1703 Rizzini's next letter to the Duke of Modena tells of the safe arrival of an envoy of his, a Carmelite monk,

> "who was received with extreme kindness by the Queen, but when he asked for the good offices of Her Majesty for a cause he has in the Parliament here, he had great trouble to obtain them, the Queen having made it a law never to ask for good justice from judges, it seeming to her an offence to appear to doubt of their own dispositions to administer it without being solicited thereto . . ."

Twenty months had now elapsed since the death of King James, and for political reasons it was fitting that the Queen and her son should re-appear at an entertainment at the French Court.

> "Thursday in last week," continues Rizzini in the above letter, "the Queen and the King, her son, went to Marly for the first time since King James's death, and were entertained at supper by the Most Christian King, who with his ingenious magnificent disposition to provide novel amusements . . . had arranged a game of Loto with rich prizes, such as rare Indian stuffs, gold boxes, girdles, gloves, scarves, . . . so that all the ladies of Her Majesty's Court and those of the Duchess of Burgundy should win them . . . the Queen and the King her son getting the portion which chance, or ingenuity, allotted to them."
>
> "11 *May* 1703.
>
> ". . . There is Jubilee at the French Court at the happy junction of Marshal Villars with Bavaria, which leads the Queen to hope that the calamities in Italy and those of Your Serene Highness in particular may come to an end sooner than was expected. . .
>
> The Queen imagines that the Court of Vienna, embarrassed by the union of such a powerful force with that of the Elector of Bavaria, may find itself, in order to meet them, obliged to withdraw its troops from Italy, rather than send any fresh ones there. In that case Her Majesty has thought of all that can influence the re-integration of Your Serene Highness into your states, to be ready to make good use of it at the proper time and place. . . "

Duke Rinaldo sends pitiful appeals to his niece, minutes of which are in the Archives of Modena. He tells her of the steps he has taken with the Duke of Vendôme, commander of

the French forces in Italy, and supplicates the Queen to continue the effects of her powerful protection on which "all my hopes are founded, for unless I speedily obtain relief, matters have taken such a turn, that I cannot but fear the utter desolation of the country and of our subjects, and the consequent total ruin of your honoured house." Again:—"The only comfort I have in my present affliction lies in your Majesty's letters . . . I confess that what pierces my heart is to find the heart of a hero who has always had true glory for his object, shut against me alone, and that he should lower himself by oppressing and annihilating a feeble creature such as I am. . . . At the beginning of June, a heavy quartering of troops was intimated to me, and the providing of so great a quantity of grain and forage, that it would be impossible for me to find it, even if I were to take my subjects' entire subsistence. . . ." 1703

The Queen answers, through Rizzini, with words of tenderest compassion, and will appeal to Madame de Maintenon, "not considering it opportune to address herself directly to the King . . . the afore-named lady may have an opportunity (if she will undertake the office) of remonstrating against the strange conduct of the Commanders who are in Your Serene Highness's states. (*In cypher.*) I know that M. de Torcy was lately at St. Germains, and that with his usual genial benevolence he approved of the Queen's speaking to that lady, holding it for most certain that it is not His Majesty's wish that the inhabitants of any place should be oppressed, and far less in those countries where they meet with accommodation and good entertainment. His sole object is to maintain the just rights of the Catholic King, his grandson, and to defend their common cause."

Not content with appealing to Madame de Maintenon, Mary Beatrice writes to some great person at the French Court, whom she calls "Cousin" in favour of her native country:—

"Having heard that you have been good enough to speak to M. de Chamillard[1] on behalf of Mr. Murray, I must not omit to give

Minister of War.

Brit. Mus. Add MSS. 20,293, Art. 28, f. 51

1703 you my thanks, as that gentleman is a faithful subject of my son, as his whole family has ever been . . . I am also greatly obliged to you for having given M. de Chamillard the letter of Marquis Rangoni, Governor of Modena, and of his associates; it is only natural for me to interest myself in my countrymen, and I own to you that I pity them, seeing them weighed down with contributions, and what is even worse, with the continual gratifications they are forced to give the officers, and which are quite beyond their means; but not venturing to intercede for them myself, it is a sensible pleasure to me that you should undertake to do so, feeling persuaded that M. de Chamillard, who is naturally just and good, when he is informed of their condition, will give them some relief; but whatever the result may be, I shall have the same obligation to you, to add to innumerable others. . .

Your affection. Cousin.
M. R."

Duke Rinaldo had placed himself in so difficult a position, that it was no easy task for the Queen to help him. The fortress of Brescello was taken from the Austrians by the French and Spanish troops, and the assailants discovered several French cannons in the citadel. The news caused great irritation in Paris, and Rizzini reports his own efforts to explain matters in defence of his patron. "I suggested that in the time of Duke Francis I of glorious memory, when he commanded the French armies in the States of Milan, he (as is probable) had guns cast with the three lilies, which are undoubtedly the arms of France, but were conceded by Charles VI to the Dukes of Ferrara, and the name Francis I is not Francis of France, but of Modena, the august father of Your Serene Highness, who died in the active service of the present most glorious King." Rizzini's ingenious explanation does not seem to have met with success; his next letter, August 10, 1703, says:

"On Tuesday the Queen went to Marly, but with bitter regret I have to state that the words died on her lips, on finding that no opportunity was afforded her of entering upon the subject of Your Serene Highness's affairs. The moment the cession of Brescello to the Austrians was known here, its destruction was determined on . . . The Queen knew that the orders had already been sent, added to

which certain reflections made on the large number of guns found in the place, and some suggestions of the malevolently inclined, deprived her of the courage to broach the subject. 1703

The public and private opinion is that it was necessary to give Europe, and the Italian princes in particular, an example to make them cautious in their behaviour towards great monarchs in future. If the reports of the vulgar are to be believed, resentment will not rest satisfied with the demolition of Brescello, and further demonstrations of anger will follow, but it is to be hoped that the magnanimity of the King, and respect to the Queen, together with her tearful invocations of pity and clemency, may arrest the irritation caused by contumacious and sinister interpretations."

The Queen allowed neither bodily nor mental suffering to interfere with her work, and it is probable that she was never more fully occupied than at this time of her life. Only to one or two of the nuns at Chaillot did she admit that her malady was increasing, that the first among the French surgeons, Mareschal, had been called in, and that there was a question of consulting a woman doctor. The Queen writes :—

"St Germains, 2 *September* 1703.

". . . Beaulieu will see you to-morrow, and will tell you what Mareschal says. After seeing me he will go to Paris to see the woman you know of, and the person she is treating, and who is recovering; others will be given her to try her remedy upon. Mareschal declares there is nothing urgent in my malady, nevertheless I must admit I am not without apprehension, and I have great need of prayers, for we must always begin and end with them ; I beg our dear Mother and the Sisters to join with me, without explaining to those who do not already know of it, what my need is." Chaillot MSS. Archives Nationales

The Queen then gives the number of Masses, and the Psalms and prayers she wishes to have said, to end

"with an invocation of our holy King, in order that he may obtain for me entire resignation to the will of God, such as he had while on earth and a pious indifference as to the cure or aggravation of my infirmity, that God may inspire the physicians and surgeons into whose hands I have put myself, to do with me what will be for His greater glory, and for the good of my soul ; to cure me if I may better serve him, or be useful to my children, or to grant me

1703 patience and courage to endure great suffering if it be His holy will. It is two years to-day since the King fell ill . . . I shall be with you on the 14th . . . to stay until the 18th or 19th. . . .

Madame de Maintenon was quite cured, but the fever laid hold or her again two days ago; we cried heartily together at St. Cyr over the sad state in which I am, but she is not of opinion that I should place myself in that woman's hands; she says if I begin to listen to those sort of people, I shall have quacks coming daily with fresh remedies, and shall find myself in continual embarrassments and incertitudes; nevertheless she thought I might try her remedy, which we are doing; meanwhile I try to pacify myself, and to abandon myself without reserve to the will of God. . . "

Nine days later we have the following letter from the Queen to the Governors of Modena, appointed by Duke Rinaldo before his departure to take refuge at Bologna :—

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

"Messieurs Marquis Rangoni, Santi Giovenardi and Tamburini. Your letter of July 28th has been handed to me by Abbé Tamburini,[1] who fully explained the object of his errand, and applied himself with great zeal and capacity to the execution of the commission you had entrusted to him. I wish with all my heart I could contribute to its success, and you may rest assured that I shall employ all the good offices I may; as the affair is to be referred to the Generals and Commandants of the two Crowns in Italy, I shall enclose a letter to the Duke of Vendome, begging him to enter, as far as the service of the king his master will allow, into all the just and equitable considerations for the prevention of the complete ruin of my native country, for which I have always preserved a sincere affection. . ."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO THE DUKE OF VENDOME.

"13 *September* 1703.

Ibid.

". . . I could not refuse the recommendation asked of me for you in favour of Modena, my native land, and I pray you with all the greater confidence to treat it with all the consideration the king's service may allow of, that I am convinced by experience of your inclination to oblige me. You could not do so in a matter touching me more nearly. . . ."

While the Duke of Modena was employing his niece's good offices with France, he continued to play into the hands of

[1] Sent on a special mission to Paris by the Governors of Modena.

Austria, and Rizzini writes in alarm to tell him the news has 1703
arrived at Paris that he had been the first person, through his representative at Vienna, to recognise the Archduke Charles as King of Spain, in opposition to the Duke of Anjou, Philip V. "The news has come from Fontainebleau [where the Queen and her son were on a visit to Louis XIV] and is public in Paris, where it makes a great noise, Your Serene Highness being accused of acting in concert with the Duke of Savoy. I do not know if anything has been said to the Queen." In the same letter he describes the young King's success during this his first visit to Fontainebleau, "tasting of all its magnificent diversions as if they were nothing new. . . . The season, though wet, does not interfere with the hunting, the only pleasure the Queen takes part in, which does not prevent the rest of the Court from enjoying the Comedies, Music and the play."

The efforts the Queen made during this visit at Fontainebleau, "putting extreme violence upon herself to overcome her sadness," says a note on her illness by a Chaillot nun, the press of business and the fresh proof of the Duke of Modena's double-faced proceedings, brought on a severe attack of fever. Rizzini's habitually humble attitude towards his patron gives way for a moment, and he plainly tells him the Queen's illness may be partly attributed to the news from Modena. She had hesitated to believe the first reports of his recognition of the Archduke Charles, "but seeing it printed two days later in the *Paris Gazette*, she received so great a shock that she fainted, fever supervened, and the rumour got about at Fontainebleau and in Paris that she was dangerously ill. . . . Her Majesty was able to return to St Germains on the 16th inst. . . .

"As to the news from Modena, she has said nothing to me except that she would not credit them without positive confirmation. One of the Queen's oldest servants, Signor Riva, is returning to Bologna; he had a great share in saving the present King and Her Majesty from the hands of the Usurper, and has therefore every claim upon the kind consideration

1703 of Your Serene Highness, to whom he bears letters from the Queen. . . ."

Rizzini encloses the translation of a letter from Robert Stuart MacAlpine, chief of the Stuart clan, in the name of the principal Highlanders to the Queen. It is dated 13 October, 1703, and expresses their delight at the confidence reposed in them by the King and herself. They are all ready to expose their lives, and have entrusted Lord Lovat to promise in their name all they are prepared to undertake, as well as to ask for all that is necessary for them. MacAlpine urges haste, as things have never been so ripe as they are now, not only in the Highlands but in the Lowlands. He concludes by begging Her Majesty to have a care of his family who have suffered so greatly for her cause, and he is ready to put 1,500 men into the field at her command.

John Murray wrote in almost identical terms, bidding the Queen to place full confidence in their messenger, Lord Lovat.

The Queen escaped for a few days to Chaillot after her return from Fontainebleau, and the note of the nun above alluded to gives an account of the efforts made by her ladies and the nuns to induce her to lead the life of an invalid. "One morning, being alone with her, I threw myself on my knees before her bed, and with many tears besought her to take care of herself, out of pity for the young King, and for the Princess; not only was she bound to devote herself to their education, but to relieve them of the distress of seeing her ill, and taking no care of herself. . . . I retired weeping. Her Majesty gently called me back—'Come, come, Sister, do not distress yourself. . . . I promise you I will do what I can, let us see what can be done.' She was weeping softly as she spoke, then gathering firmness she continued:—'God has tried me with many afflictions, apparently it was not enough. He wishes me in greater abjection still; I never expected this kind of cross.'"

Chaillot Journal, Archives Nationales

At the end of November Rizzini sends an account of the

Queen's illness, saying that Louis XIV has ordered his own physicians to take the greatest care of her. 1703

". . . At first Her Majesty concealed it, thinking it of no moment. It began four years ago as a minute swelling in the breast, and only by the express wish of the late King did she consent to consult her physician and her surgeon, who augured badly of it, although at that time she felt no pain. . . . On her return from Fontainebleau fresh consultations were held, and as there is an excellent doctor at the Court of Lorraine, who practised several years in Paris, and is most experienced in this kind of malady, having cured several ladies, I wrote to have his opinion.

He proposed two remedies, the one extirpation and eradication by the knife, and the other reduction and absorption by general treatment, saying he has practised both with good results. The Queen, although with her usual intrepidity and resignation she speaks of her illness almost with indifference, is ready to submit to any treatment; nevertheless on account of her extreme thinness, an operation has not been judged advisable, and the other course has been adopted, concerning which further instructions are expected from Lorraine. If I had known the true state of the Queen regarding this tumour, I should not have failed to inform Your Serene Highness . . . but I knew none of the details until after her return from Fontainebleau, when Her Majesty deigned to inform me of them herself, and gave me directions to impart them to Your Serene Highness. . ."

"21 *December* 1703.

". . . The Queen is pierced to the heart by the misfortunes of Your Serene Highness, which she fears will become still more pitiful with the fresh cause of offence given by your Minister at Vienna; Her Majesty did not hesitate to speak to whomsoever she could, to see if it was possible to insinuate the truth according to Your Serene Highness's ingenuous statements . . . but having reflected that if the Minister had taken such a step without instructions, he would immediately have been disavowed and punished, nothing will avail against the resentment here, not only on this subject, but upon every other event connected with Your Serene Highness since the beginning of the war.

The Queen's grief is inexpressible, and I could have wished to be spared the necessity of acquainting you with her views, but Her Majesty charged me expressly to attest . . . the impossibility in

1703 which she finds herself to further Your Serene Highness's affairs at present. . . .

I have had an answer from the doctor in Lorraine proposing his remedy; it will be consulted upon at St Germains by the most intelligent and learned of the profession. I enclose a copy of the prescription, that Your Serene Highness may have the satisfaction of submitting it to the excellent and celebrated professors [at Bologna]."

A few days later Rizzini sends without comment an extract from the *Paris Gazette*, stating that the Modenese envoy at Vienna having been the only Minister to acknowledge the Austrian Archduke as King of Spain, the Most Christian King, in his irritation, has ordered the sequestration of the revenues, and of all the most precious possessions of Duke Rinaldo, as he had not thought fit publicly to disavow the act of his Minister.

Before the end of the year the Duke of Berwick, who had proved himself one of the most brilliant young officers in the French service, attaining the rank of Lieutenant-General at the age of twenty-two, determined to become a naturalised French subject. He sought the Queen's good offices, who took upon herself to support his application to Louis XIV, and succeeded in obtaining the act of naturalisation, which was to prove a not unimportant factor in her son's future career.

CHAPTER XIII

Queen Mary Beatrice to Nuncio Gualterio. 1704

"St. Germains, *Jan.* 1704.

". . . I shall defer speaking of the first letter from Rome until I see you, but as for the second, I beg you not to delay sending His Holiness the liveliest expressions of gratitude in my name for the interest he takes in my poor health, of which I shall hold myself more straitly bound to take good care, now I know it is not indifferent to one whom I so greatly desire to please and to obey. . . . Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 6, f. 11

I do not know if you have already seen Mylord Lovat, I am anxious to see him to know if the news he brings me are as good and as important as he declares them to be, but I must tell you as to this, that I have seen several letters written by different persons having no connection with each other, who speak not only dubiously of that Lord, but to his positive disadvantage. I shall suspend my judgment until the arrival of two men whom I expect, but I think it necessary not to open myself too much to Mylord Lovat, and I beg you to act with the same reserve, without however letting him perceive that we have any diffidence concerning him. I beg you also to persuade him to live privately a little while longer; when I see you I shall give you my reasons, not being able to say more at present. . . . "

Same to Same.

". . . I send you an extract of news brought us from England . . . respecting the Scotch conspiracy. I know nothing more, as I have no letters from Scotland. . . . M. de Torcy has only seen the first part of the extract as I received it this morning; it was written by a Protestant minister, who has never taken the oath to the Government, to a lady of our Court, it appears naturally written, and by an impartial person; I only saw it by chance. In England Mylord Lovat is called Frazer of Beaufort." *Ibid.* Art. 8 f. 14

1704 The enclosed letter declared Lovat to be talked of as the author or inventor of a conspiracy which had resulted in the arrest of several Scotch Jacobites.

Another letter, dated January 15, says :

> ". . . Many persons think the conspiracy will come to nothing, and will prove to be no more than a scheme of the Duke of Queensberry, *Commissioner for Scotland*, and his party, to catch some of the nationalists, the Earl of Atholl being chiefly aimed at ; that Frazer of Beaufort, who is as broken in reputation as he is in his fortunes, was secretly employed by the Duke of Queensberry to negotiate with some of the Highlanders, and then to go to the Courts of France and of St. Germains ; that he had protection, passports and money from those who employed him. . . . I hear that Ferguson has made it plainly known to the English Council that the whole project was designed by the Duke of Queensberry, and he says he had it from Frazer himself. . . . The Earl of Athole, who saw that the plot was directed against himself and his friends, so pushed on the discovery that the scheme is ruined. However that may be, Maclaine, the Keiths, Lindsay and several others are still in prison. A little time will throw fresh light on this affair."

In spite of the Queen's injunctions to secrecy, the adverse reports against Lovat seem to have reached him immediately, to judge from his letter to Lord Middleton, dated January 19, 1704.

Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library, vol. ii., No. 62

> "I have been mighty ill this three days . . . and it truly ads very much to my distemper that I hear the Queen, for whom I have done so much, seems to give ear to ye frivolous suggestions of my enemys. . . . As to the King my master's affairs, I have this to say for myself, that when I came last year to France with a commission from the most of the Highlanders to ofer ther services to the yong King I was then in full and free possession of a good Estate, and its known to most of the Kingdom that I lost it by my staying last year in France. . . . I hazard by my coming here now the intire extinction of my Family, ther being none to represent it but my Brother and me who were both exposed to the dayly hazard of our lives. I have likewise ruined my health by my constant toil in my master's service in which I had so good success that it will be the fault of those on this side if he is not soon restored. If all this meet not

with some good reward I believe Loyalty is a Rock that none in Brittan who hears my story will hereafter split upon. . . . 1704

And at the bottom I cannot understand where the balance lyes betwixt the family of Atholl, a branch of the Morays which canot bring fifty of its name to the King's service, and who were Traytors from their origine to this moment, and the family of Lovat which has lost more men in defending the present Royall Family of Stewart than ther are Morays in the Kingdom of Scotland, and which I bless God even at this tyme can bring 1,000 Frasers well-armed in 24 hours to the king's service. . . . "

He writes again 25 Jan. to Lord Middleton :—

"I am dayly informed that the Queen has but a scurvy opinion of me, and that I rather did her Majesty bad than good service by my journey. My Lord I find by that, that my Enemys have greater power with the Queen than I can have, and to please them and ease Her Majesty I am resolv'd to medle no more with any afair till the King is of age. This is leaving the field with a fair victory to my enemys. . . . "

Renaudot sent report after report and drew up memorials upon Scotch affairs, which give evidence of reluctance to believe the accusations against Lovat and throw light upon the ulterior views of French policy :

". . These two Ministers [Middleton and Caryll] who possess the entire confidence of the Queen, have established the maxim that the King her son can only be restored by treating with the English . . . that the King [Louis XIV] not being in a condition to re-establish him by force of arms, because of the great enemies His Majesty has on his hands,[1] all the risings which could be excited would only serve to make a diversion useful to France, but prejudicial to their king's interests . . . because they would irritate Queen Anne whom they suppose to be well intentioned towards the King, her brother, and would render her Ministers incapable of serving him. . . . They conclude that the Queen should undertake nothing during her Regency, contenting herself with entertaining secret correspondences with the King's friends in the three kingdoms, until a favourable moment for making use of them, when he is of an age to take his own resolutions. The Queen's maternal tenderness, Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

[1] The battle of Blenheim was won by Marlborough and Prince Eugene over the French and Bavarians the following August.

1604 and the memory of the risk she ran of being assassinated together with her son during their flight from England, as the Prince of Orange had ordered, serve to strengthen the reasons for undertaking nothing. . . . "

Renaudot is inclined to think that both Caryll and Middleton have ends of their own to serve, though he puts their fidelity above suspicion, and rates the capacity of the latter as far superior to that of Lord Caryll. He then describes the Duke of Perth—

" whose universally-acknowledged probity and fidelity had earned him the confidence of the late King James and of the Queen ; he is now a little estranged by the dominant credit of the English faction, who have persuaded the Queen to enter into their views, but he is more worthy of credit than any one else respecting the state of Scotland. . . . The Duke asserts that he has a letter from Captain John Murray, who was sent into Scotland with Mylord Lovat to enquire if all that Lord said at his first journey to France was true ; that John Murray not only confirms his statements but praises his fidelity and services. . . .

Mylord Middleton opposes to these proofs, extracts from written and printed Gazettes current in London, which try to cast suspicion on mylord Lovat, and he alleges the testimony of a certain James Murray, a Scotch protestant, whom he had sent into Scotland . . . and who, far from inciting their King's friends to declare themselves, omitted nothing to deter them from doing so. . . . If the statements of Mylord Middleton and his emissary are examined, they will be found to contain manifest absurdities and contradictions. . . .

Nothing could be more opportune for His Majesty's [Louis XIV] interests at the present conjuncture than to make the Scotch malcontents, who are certainly very numerous, take up arms, and to send them a moderate sum of money with some Irish officers, arms, and supplies as soon as possible in two frigates from St Malo or Dunkerque. . . . If the Scotch prove themselves strong enough to re-establish their legitimate King, the Catholics in Ireland will soon rise and shake off the English yoke ; and with those two kingdoms, that monarch could maintain himself against England, waiting patiently for the death of his sister, Queen Anne, to make himself recognised, spontaneously or by force, in England.

Such a restoration would be the surest method to procure a glorious and lasting peace for His Majesty [Louis XIV] for if the young king were king of Scotland and ally of France, as were his predecessors

before the union of England and Scotland, such an alliance would deprive England of the power to injure France. It would not be the same thing if he were restored to the three kingdoms; whatever gratitude he might owe His Majesty, he would soon be drawn by the English into interests opposed to those of France. If a rising in Scotland does not result in re-establishing the rightful king, it will at least serve as a very useful diversion during the coming campaign. Such a diversion would compel the English to withdraw a great part of their force from Flanders, and would put His Majesty in a position to make peace next winter by the superiority of his arms, which is a sufficient reason for the enterprise. 1704

The King of England may gain greatly, and can lose nothing, as the worst that could befall him would be to remain in his present condition; and the Scotch . . . would always be strong enough to make a good capitulation by favour of their inaccessible Highlands, which destroys the English policy of the Queen of England's two Ministers, who oppose the scheme. But as it is to be feared they might prevail with the Queen, who knows Scotch affairs only through their reports, it would appear advisable to cause her Council to lose the thread of this negotiation, as of an affair concerning the essential interests of His Majesty [Louis XIV], since it is a question of rendering his enemies, by an important diversion, incapable of continuing the present war."

In another memorial, dated Feb. 4th, Renaudot says he has worked two years to discover the real state of affairs in Scotland, considering a rising there a decisive method to force the enemies of the King of France to a peace. He concludes that the bulk of the nation, though divided into Episcopalians and Presbyterians, desires a separation from England, and a King of Scotland who would not be King of England, since the refusal of Queen Anne to consent to the Act passed by the Scotch Parliament to insure the independence and commerce of that country, "an act passed almost unanimously, and celebrated with public rejoicings throughout Scotland." He gives a good account of Lord Lovat's fidelity and trustworthiness.[1]

[1] From authentic copies of Gualterio MSS. in the possession of Rev. Canon H. B. Mackey, we find the Duke of Perth's firm belief in Lovat's good faith :—"The Queen," he wrote Jan. 17, 1703, in a letter full of his praise, "did not intend to receive Mylord Lovat . . . as had been proposed, the reason of the change was her hesitation to accord his demands. He asked for an earldom which she refused. . . . He also asks to be

1704 "The Ministry of St Germains are resolutely opposed to the enterprise, saying it would be good for France, and bad for them . . . they say their King can only be restored by their negotiations with England, and try to make it appear that Queen Anne is well-disposed to him, that it would spoil all to irritate her and the whole English nation by a rising in Scotland, which would only serve to destroy the King's friends there. Even were he restored, they do not appear to value that crown sufficiently to make them prefer the sojourn in Edinburgh to that of St Germains. . . .

To judge of the real intentions of Queen Anne, it is only needful to examine her conduct. She allowed the English Parliament to pass the Act making it high treason to propose any other prince than that of Hanover as her successor. . . . She has just re-affirmed, by her answer to the last address of the House of Commons, her resolution to assure the succession of the crown for ever in the Protestant line. She is working by means of her agents in Scotland to procure the recognition of Hanover there . . . She is the bitterest of all the enemies of France. It may therefor be assumed that the secret negotiations between her Ministers and those of St Germains are but vain amusements to turn them from the enterprises which might be directed against her for the restoration of the King, her brother, among which there is none more certain, easier or more speedy, than to profit by the general disposition of the whole of Scotland to take up arms. It is so public that none doubt of it, except the Ministers at St Germains. . . .

It is necessary to persuade the Queen of England to allow herself to be guided by His Majesty, to whom in conjunction with her, the late King of England confided the guardianship of the King her son, and to leave to His Majesty the care of distinguishing good advice from the bad so often given to her, either upon untrustworthy information, or through the passion and cabals which throw her into painful uncertainties, and expose all her secrets to discovery. . . . It would be very useful to profit by the great capacity and good intentions of the Nuncio Gualterio, who has worked hard in this business out of zeal for religion and for His Majesty's service, to engage the Pope to enter therein, and to write to the Queen of England that she must in conscience confide the conduct of matters regarding her son's restoration to the profound wisdom and the proved generosity of His Majesty."

made Brigadier. The Queen cannot consent to grant him this favour. . . . I am distressed at her manner of proceeding. . . . It depends upon Your Excellency to soften the mind of the Queen. . . ."

Mary Beatrice's answer to these recommendations took the form of a paper addressed by her to Louis XIV, the latter part of which shows that the ulterior designs of the French Court were not unknown to her. After recounting the accusations made against Lord Lovat by persons of all religions and all parties, that he was the tool of the Duke of Queensberry, it continues : 1704

"This is confirmed by the testimony of Sir James Murray, a Scotch gentleman of good birth and great probity who was employed by the Earl of Arran, and whose declaration is in the hands of the Marquis de Torcy. It is in great measure further confirmed by the admissions of Mylord Lovat himself, avowing his correspondence with the enemies of the King his master. If (after this) Mylord Lovat is permitted to return to Scotland, it is much to be feared it would be to put him in a position to ruin all the friends of the British King, which would be imputed to the Queen of England, as it would never be believed in England or Scotland, that such a man could be credited and employed by the Court of France on his simple word without the approbation of the Queen.

Even supposing Lord Lovat's intentions to be good, it is certain he is incapable of rendering any service in Scotland, for he has neither credit nor power in that country, where he has been proscribed for odious crimes . . . where he no longer owns an inch of land, and where it is assured that no more than forty or fifty of his clan would follow him.[1] As for the title he assumes here of Lord Lovat, without entering into the question whether it belongs to him or not, it is certain that no one gives it him in England or Scotland, and that in all public and private letters from those countries he is described as Mr or Captain Simon Frazer of Beaufort, he having formerly been a lieutenant or captain in the service of the Prince of Orange in Scotland.

Finally, the Queen of England appeals to the Most Christian King to say whether he has not found her always ready to enter into the measures proposed for the re-establishment of the King, her son, and for the interests of France, which she has always regarded as inseparable from those of His British Majesty. There is therefore no ground for supposing that Her Majesty would oppose the designs of Lord Lovat, if she were not convinced that his project would tend rather to

[1] That this was an under estimation of Lovat's power was disastrously proved in 1715.

1704 ruin everything than to procure any advantage to His Most Christian Majesty, or to the King, her son."

The paper is endorsed :—"Given by the Queen to the King of France, 29 February, 1704."

Almost simultaneously with this strong indictment, which was supported by numerous letters addressed to Renaudot by the Queen's Ministers, the Marquis de Torcy, to his greater bewilderment, received from the Marquis of Drummond a letter of "inexpressible joy" at the news communicated "by the Lord Lovat of the intention of His Most Christian Majesty to assist the King my master in his just pretension to the crown of his ancestors . . . Lord Lovat can fully inform you of the state of affairs in this country . . ."

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

Lord Drummond enclosed the following list of the clans ready to take up arms, which, if Lovat communicated it, with the rest of his full information on Scotch affairs, to Queen Anne's Ministers, must have been read by them with considerable interest :—"Mackenzies 2,000 ; McLeans 1,200 ; Macdonalds 2,000 ; Camerons 800 ; Farquharsons 500 ; Stewarts of the North 600 ; Frasers 1,000 ; Chisholms 300 ; Rosses 500 ; Sutherlands 500 ; Grants 500 ; total 12,000. Earl Marishal, Mylord Duff, Sir Alexander Innes &c. have promised 1,000 horse."

The Duke of Berwick, who was commanding the French forces in Spain, wrote to the Queen from Alcantara, 3 April 1704, giving her a fresh proof "of the knavery of Lord Lovat" which he considers of such moment that he advises her to have it translated at once into French and given to de Torcy, as she may count upon it that the King's affairs are ruined if Lovat is not arrested. This new witness is an Irish priest named Farrell, who has escaped on a Dutch vessel to Lisbon from England, where he had spent eight months in prison. The Duke writes that he knows Farrell to be an honest and sensible man, who has often been employed by the King's friends in England. His message is from Lord Granard in the name of the Duke of Hamilton and his party, to warn Berwick that Fraser, other-

Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library, vol. ii. No. 52

wise Lord Lovat, is a spy of the Duke of Queensberry's, and that they desire he may be arrested if he be still in France. The paper concludes with an account of the betrayal by Fraser of an honest apothecary in London, named Clarke, who has been thrown into Newgate, and probably executed. 1704

The Queen sent the Duke of Berwick's information to the Nuncio with the following letter :—

"St Germains, *April* 1704.

"I think it only due to my friendship for you, to continue to render you an exact account of our poor and unhappy affairs ; here are the last news I have received since I saw you, and which have made a great round, as you will see. . . . I have sent another copy to M. de Torcy, with no other comment than to ask him to preserve the greatest secrecy concerning the correspondence between the Earl of Arran and myself, as Mylord Lovat has never known of it from me, whatever he may have guessed. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293 Art. 7, f. 13

The Lord Granard referred to is an Irish nobleman who has always been attached to our interests, and who bears the character of an honest man. You will see what the Duke of Berwick thinks of Mylord Lovat, and then, after a few moments' reflection, you will concert thereon with M. de Torcy as God may inspire you both. I am persuaded that in a short time so much light will be thrown on this affair, that you will all be agreed upon it, and meanwhile it is a sensible trouble to me that I cannot enter into your sentiments, nor make you enter into mine on this one subject, for it has never happened to us before ; but I console myself with the thought that our friendship is too solidly founded for so feeble an instrument as Mylord Lovat ever to be able to make the smallest breach in it. . ."

Lovat was arrested, and after spending, according to his Memoirs, "thirty-two days in a dark and unwholesome dungeon," was confined for three years in the Castle of Angoulême, and for other seven had his liberty restricted to the town of Saumur.

Rizzini to Duke of Modena.

"22 *May* 1704.

". . . When all appeared to be lost, the good offices of the Nuncio, and the zealous management (*i zelanti maneggi*) of the Queen succeeding in modifying the intentions of the Most Christian

1704 King towards Modena, and this success raises hopes of a prompt accommodation."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO NUNCIO GUALTERIO.

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 48, f. 83

". . . I send a thousand thanks for all you have done with M. de Chamillard in favour of the Duke of Modena, my uncle, who without you would be doubly ruined. The poor man presses me by every post, and I think I cannot do better than place his letters in your hands . . . and to beg you to have the patience to read them, and to forgive all the trouble, which with much regret I have caused you lately on this particular."

By Rizzini's letters of the two preceding months we see how strong had been the displeasure of the French Court, Louis XIV replying to Gualterio's solicitations that he would treat the Emperor's friends as that monarch had treated the friends of France, and we find the frank and probably unpalatable advice of the Queen :—" To soften the asperity here, it will be necessary to consign the fortress of Mont' Alfonso to the French and to do it spontaneously. It will also be necessary before all things, publicly to disavow the conduct of the Modenese envoy at Vienna."

We may here place an undated letter of the Queen to Sœur Déposée, which gives us a glimpse of her inner self at the period of unceasing toil, anxiety, perplexity and physical suffering which composed her regency :—

Chaillot Papers, Archives Nationales

". . . I believe that a heart full of divine love is at peace and content in any kind of state, wherein it cannot but be well ; it is the one thing I beg of you to ask for me . . . it is the one thing necessary, having which all that the world calls misfortunes and disgrace cannot cause unhappiness ; I believe all this as firmly as if I experienced it, though in truth I have never felt anything approaching it, for instead of doing all for love, I do all by force. . . ."

It is interesting to see how Mary Beatrice succeeded in "doing all by force" in the eyes of Gabriel de la Roquette, Bishop of Autun, who, writing to the Superior at Chaillot on the occasion of the First Communion of Princess Louise Marie, says of the Queen of England :—

Ibid. " What a Queen, what a work of grace as well as of nature,

what a prodigy of virtue, what an example of gaiety, what a 1704
treasure to all who have the privilege of seeing her, of rejoicing in her conversation ; the more I think of her greatness of soul, of her constancy, her courage, her perseverance, and disdain of worldly things, the more do I recognise my inability to find fit terms to express my thoughts, and am reduced to silent admiration."

The quality which the Bishop lauded as "her gaiety" remained with the Queen to the last, a sense of humour, without which the finest character lacks something of human lovableness, and which, despite the hardest rubs of adverse fortune, made her able to enjoy a joke, to laugh heartily as she so often had cause to weep bitterly. "Her Majesty laughed to tears," we read sometimes in the Chaillot Journal, at some comic incident, some humorous *contretemps* in the ever increasing austerity of her daily life.

The next letter shows the Queen in intercourse with an illustrious penitent, Louise de la Vallière, "Sister Louise of Mercy." Chaillot had received her on her second flight from Court, and a tree in the garden was long pointed out under which Lauzun, sent by her royal lover with an armed force to bring her back to Versailles, found her kneeling before her crucifix. She had been a nun of the severe Carmelite order in the Rue St. Jacques some years before Mary Beatrice arrived in France, and the friendship between the exiled Queen and the august penitent must have been a touching one.

"St Germains, 20 *September* 1704.

"At last I send you, dear Mother, the enclosed note for Sister Louise of Mercy. . . I am ashamed to have deferred it so long, but if you knew to what an extent I have been overwhelmed and tormented since I left you, you would pity me. I have just finished a business which has troubled me greatly [probably Lord Lovat's]; God grant it is really at an end, but as soon as one thing is done with, another still more difficult and disagreeable comes upon me. Pray to God to give me the virtues of patience and prudence to a degree proportionate to the extreme need I have of them."

The Princess Louise Marie was in her fourteenth year when,
8 January 1705, she made her first appearance at a ball at

1704 Marly, and "danced very well," remarks Dangeau, who adds that Louis XIV made her take precedence of the Duchess of Burgundy, daughter-in-law of the Dauphin, and that "he stood while the King of England danced, an honour he would scarcely have rendered to a happy King." And Rizzini reports to the Duke of Modena that the Princess had been the leader of the ball with the young Duke of Berry; "winning the greatest applause, which has given rise to the report that there is a project of marriage between them."

James and his sister danced the first minuet at another ball at Marly in February, and the Queen, according to St. Simon, had to insist that Louis XIV should not remain standing each time her son danced. Although Mary Beatrice was rapidly despoiling herself of all the jewels it was in her power to sell, to feed her poor pensioners, the few heirlooms, including the wonderful pearls which her mother had left her, gave her an adornment worthy of her rank and second to that of none of the Princesses of the Court of Versailles, while the fresh beauty of the young English Princess was admired of all. Writing a few months later to Father Meredith, a priest at the English Seminary in Rome, Father Sanders, the late King's confessor, says:—"The King is very well, and grows tall and strong. The Queen, also, is much better than she was, and it is hoped that the lump in her breast is not so dangerous as was once thought. The Princess is one of the most complete young ladies of her age, very witty and handsome, and of a most excellent humour, which gains her the hearts of all who know her."

Rawlinson Mis. MSS. No. 21, Bodleian Library

In obedience to a wish of her husband, expressed shortly before his death, the Queen recalled Lord Melfort to St. Germains in the month of March, and desired him to assume the title of Duke, conferred upon him by James II. "King James," writes St. Simon, "when dying, believed the suspicions against him were unfounded, and, in reparation, made him a Duke. Everybody at St. Germains and Versailles was not so fully persuaded of it as was that Prince."

St. Simon's "everybody" included the Queen, who seems

never to have employed Melfort in any capacity during the remainder of his life, which he spent in obscurity, dying in the summer of 1714. 1705

The secret negotiations with Queen Anne's Cabinet were meanwhile being actively carried on; Godolphin, Mary Beatrice's faithful but timid friend, was Lord Treasurer, and under the name of Gilburn or Goulston he frequently appears in the correspondence of the Queen's Ministers, Middleton and Caryll, Marlborough doing so even more frequently under that of Armsworth. They had promised the Queen that the Bill for the Protestant succession would be thrown out in the Scotch Parliament, and Caryll writing on the subject, June 30th, 1705, says:—"I must also own the receipt of yours of the 3rd May, wherein you relate what passed between you and Mr. Goulston, which merchant is not so prodigal of his words as his partner Armsworth, and therefore they are somewhat more to be relied on—unless they both join to deceive—which may be hoped from their agreeing in the same story." Nairne Papers, Macpherson

The Emperor Leopold died May 5, 1705; he had been, among Catholic rulers, the only one held by James II as an open enemy, and on his death-bed he had coupled Leopold's name with that of William of Orange in a special act of pardon for the wrongs they had done him. The Court of St. Germains had reason to hope that a new departure in their regard might take place in the politics of Austria at the accession of the Emperor Joseph I, brother-in-law of Duke Rinaldo's wife, but the continuation of the disastrous war of the Spanish succession prevented the realisation of that hope, and Joseph's forces, under the genius of Eugene, *der edler Ritter*, with the support of England, Holland, and Prussia, maintained the best traditions of their country, and were to succeed a few months later in driving the French out of Italy.

The summer seems to have passed gaily for Mary Beatrice's children, the young Duchess of Burgundy was devoted to the Queen, and great friends with the Princess Louise Marie. Dangeau makes special mention of a gay water-party at Trianon

1705 in June, where they all greatly diverted themselves. When the time approached, however, for the annual visit to Fontainebleau, the Prince went alone, his mother being ill. She wished to go for the sake of her daughter, says Dangeau, but the Princess dissuaded her "le plus gentilment du monde."

It was probably during this illness that the Queen wrote to Maria Constance Gobert, Superior at Chaillot:—"*Patientia vobis necessaria est.* Yes, verily, my dear mother, it is very necessary to have patience. . . . I confess I am mortified at not being able to go to our dear Chaillot. . . . I must give up that hope. . . . My illness has been trifling and I believe in two or three days I shall be *hors d'affaire* if it please God; if not, I trust He will grant me good patience. . . . A thousand remembrances . . . above all to C. Ang. . . ."[1]

For nearly two years Rizzini's age and infirmities had forced him to employ an amanuensis, the Abbé Bunat, to write the despatches which for thirty years had so faithfully and graphically pictured for the Court of Modena, and for us, the multitudinous events of which he was the interested observer. His love for Mary Beatrice, his zeal for her service and admiration for her virtues increased as he watched the development of her character, and met with affectionate gracious response from her, expressing itself in acts of kindness which he often gratefully records. His later letters to his master frequently complained of the increasing burden or years, making it difficult for him to undertake the winter journeys to St. Germains and Versailles, necessitating a departure from Paris at 2 a.m. His last report bears date January 15, 1706, and tells of a visit of the Queen and her children to Marly for the Twelfth Night festivities, when "the young King and the Princess danced to the admiration of the whole Court . . . His Majesty was to go to Meudon yesterday to sup with the Dauphin, after having visited the Opera at Paris, for the first time, in

[1] Miss Strickland gives this letter as having been written by the Queen on her death-bed, but it is endorsed:—"Letter to Maria Constance Gobert. Superior 1705-1706." She died in October, 1706.

company with that most amiable prince." A few days later, Bunat sends the news of his death, adding :—"Nor did he forget to charge the writer to commend him heartily to the gracious remembrance and pious prayers of Your Serene Highness, with the assurance that he was your most humble, most faithful servant to his death." 1706

Another death is recorded at this time by St. Simon :—"Towards the middle of February the Dowager Queen of England died in Portugal ; a widow, and childless, she had returned to her brother the King, who loved and esteemed her greatly."

The growing financial difficulties of Louis XIV, and the consequent irregularity in the payment of her pension, pressed heavily upon the Queen, burdened as she was with the care of her poor Jacobites. She writes to Madame de Maintenon at the beginning of the year :—

"I have just returned from Chaillot, and I shall send to-morrow for news of you, as it seems a thousand years since I have had any. I hope they may be good with all my heart, but not more so at this time than at any other, for from the beginning of the year to the end of it, I wish you all the good you can yourself desire, and my friendship has reached the point when it can increase no more. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 15,904

After this opening of my heart to you, permit me as usual to importune you, by begging you to remind the King that it is generally at the beginning of the year he has the goodness to give us 40,000 livres. I wish I were in a condition not to ask for them. But since it has pleased God to place me in it, I hope He will inspire the King to continue this charity, for we must call things by their names. I pray God to reward him for this, and for so many other benefits towards us.

I am in despair to be so importunate, but you are good enough to pardon me, and to obtain a like pardon from the King."[1]

A few days later the Queen writes to a nun at Chaillot :—

". . . I expect a letter from you to-night, and I have need of consolation, as I am overwhelmed with trouble, and with new and difficult affairs, alas ! there are never any others for me. . . .

[1] A collection of 140 letters from the Queen to Madame de Maintenon was sold in 1753 by the secretary of Marshal de Noailles for 260 frs. All trace of them has disappeared.

1706 Scotch affairs probably counted among the difficulties the Queen alludes to. There came long memorials from Fleming, brother of the Earl of Wigton, to M. de Torcy, early in 1706, giving accounts of the number of Scotch ready to rise, and asking for troops, money and arms from Louis XIV (which that monarch was in no condition to furnish, however useful a diversion in Scotland might appear to Renaudot and others) and for the prompt arrival of James III at Edinburgh, which the Queen was still unwilling to agree to. On the other hand the improvement in her health is noticed by Father Sanders in a letter to Father Meredith at Rome; he says the tumour in her breast is decreasing. "The King is very well, and grows strong and tall. He has begun to ride the great horse, and does it very gracefully, and all say he will be a very good horseman. He has a great desire to make a campaign, and the Queen has asked it of the King of France, which he has not yet consented to. In all appearance it would do our King a great deal of good, and be much to his honour and reputation; but the King of France will be loath to let him go till he can send him like a King. The Princess is very tall for her age, and by her wit and gracious behaviour charms all that come near her . . "

Rawlinson MSS. Bodleian Library, No. 21

Dangeau also notices the "considerable" improvement in the Queen's health, "the swelling diminished and no longer painful." He also mentions "her great desire that the King, her son, should go to the war this year," proving that her refusal to send him to Scotland arose from no weak fear of exposing him to the apprenticeship of war, to the hazards which every man of his name and race, as well as of her own, was accustomed to encounter at his age. "She wished him to serve as a volunteer in Marshal Villeroy's army under an assumed name, so as to avoid ceremony and expense; the King of England desired it as much as the Queen, but the King did not consider it fitting. There are always a great many objections to such a step, not to be avoided, whatever precautions may be taken."

King Philip V was as friendly to the Stuarts as his predecessor had been hostile, and but for his present struggle with the Austrian Archduke Charles and his English allies he might have been able to give useful proofs of his amity. He and the Queen of Spain sent frequent messages to Mary Beatrice through Sir Thoby Bourke, who represented the Jacobite interests in Spain, and there is a letter from Bourke to Lord Caryll dated March 3, 1706, on the return of the Duke of Berwick, Generalissimo of the French and Spanish forces, to that country after a visit to France :— 1706

". . . I believe it would not be amiss that the Queen in her first letter to the Princess des Ursins.[1] [Camerera Major to the Queen of Spain, and a connection of Mary Beatrice through the Duchess Laura, her mother] should thank her for her kindness to the Duke . . ."

Affairs in Spain were anxiously watched from St. Germains. The Duke of Berwick writes indignantly of the capitulation of Alcantara, and Sir Thoby Bourke sends Caryll news :—" From the Camp, ten miles from Madrid," of the disaster to the Spanish forces by the Portuguese and the consequent abandonment of Madrid by the King and Queen.

"22 *June*, 1706.

"I am told Madrid is like a desert . . . if France sends us a speedy succour we may soon recover all the ground we loose, but if you continue still the siege of Turin, and that you will absolutely prefer the taking of a town to the keeping of a crown I can't tell what to say. . . . I'll join the King's camp when I know where it settles. . . ." Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library, vol. ii. f. 14

Meanwhile Mary Beatrice's Regency had come to an end ; Countess Molza, who had taken many of the duties of Donna Vittoria Montecuccoli Davia, writes to the Duke of Modena, 18 June, 1706 :—

"Their Majesties enjoy perfect health, thank God, and so does the Princess. The King will attain his majority on the 20th of this

[1] Daughter of the Duc de la Tremouille, and widow of the head of the Orsini (Ursins) family, and grandee of Spain.

1706 month, [on the completion of his 18th year] to the great comfort of the Queen; I cannot describe the submission that Prince has always shown towards his mother, and he displays no joy at the prospect of governing his Court; a young man is generally glad to escape from maternal authority, but he is not so. Might God grant, as Your Serene Highness wishes, that we might see him restored to his throne but—but—but— By this time you know the foreign news, I have nothing to add to it."

LORD MIDDLETON TO THE MARQUIS DE TORCY.

"28 *June*, 1706.

Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library, vol. viii. No. 33

". . . The King, my master, now applies himself to business with the ability of a skilled workman. The Scotch despatch is quite conformable to what you have said of it. It is entirely in his own hand, and according to his own ideas, as were eight letters he has addressed to his chief partizans. As this gives me extreme pleasure, I thought you would not be displeased to hear of it. . . ."

Nuncio Gualterio was now made a Cardinal and there arose a difficulty as to the etiquette to be observed at his first visit to St. Germains in his new capacity. The Queen solves it with her usual good sense and simplicity :—

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 33, f. 57

"I entirely agree with you and M. de Torcy that you must come here, either quite in ceremony or quite *incognito;* but as, on our side, neither the King my son, nor I could receive you with ceremony, not thinking it right to make any change in the rule established by the King his father upon our first arrival in France, and which has always been approved by the Popes (as I have good reason to believe, never having heard anything to the contrary) and by the King, in whose regard it was made, and by which we degrade ourselves much more than we do others, as it would be more becoming to our dignity to receive Cardinals, Nuncios and Ambassadors as Kings than as private individuals. . . . It only remains for me to propose to you what I proposed the other day, viz. that you should come in your *habit court* as usual, which will make the *incognito* complete, and will cut short all difficulties on your side; on mine there have never been any as I claim nothing, and if your predecessors have acted differently it has been by their own wish, and not because I expected it. I hope you will be satisfied with the sincerity with which I speak to you, it is the same that I have always asked you to use towards me."

Gualterio returned to Rome, and the Queen sent by him a renewal of her inviolable devotion to the Holy See. 1706

". . . I entreat Your Holiness to listen benignly to the Lord Cardinal, and to give entire credit to all he will tell you from me; no one knows my sentiments better than he owing to the particular friendship I have long had for him, for his great and well-known merit, and the zeal he has always shown for the Royal house of England. . . ."[1] Vatican Archives

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

"2 *November* 1706.

"I heard with much pleasure that you had safely reached Avignon. . . . The Scotch Parliament met at the beginning of last month; the Princess is doing all she can to get the Bill of Union between the two kingdoms passed, it is even said she has sent money for it; if that is true, she will succeed;[2] we have at last had news from that country by the return of the frigate which had been sent there; the well-intentioned are always in the same state, ready for everything if they can get help from this country, of which I have no expectation, and I have great reason to believe that there is a thought of a peace, but what peace, God only knows. . . ." Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 34, f. 59

CARDINAL GUALTERIO TO THE QUEEN.

"RAVENNA, 16 *December* 1706.

[The letter begins with an account of a miserable journey, and the fear of the loss of a ship with all his carriages and a part of his luggage.] *Ibid.* 20,294 f. 22

"In Florence I was received with infinite kindness by the Grand Duke [The Queen's old friend Cosimo]. He made the greatest professions of love and respect for Your Majesty and the King. . . . I cannot doubt but he spoke sincerely. He appeared to believe, and even said he had certain knowledge that the Princess of Denmark was well-disposed towards the King, and recommended that she should be cultivated, in the hope by that means to obtain the restoration of His Majesty. He gave me a piece of advice which appeared to me most prudent . . . viz. that as it will be necessary for the King in case of his re-establishment to accommodate himself to the humour of the Protestants, and to their interests, so far as conscience permits, it

The Cardinal's brother, Giovanni Battista Gualterio, was created Earl of Dundee in 1706. Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

The preliminaries of the Treaty of Union had been signed at the end of July.

1707 would be well that the matter should be secretly discussed before hand, treating with His Holiness on the points which may come under consideration, and negotiating with him to obtain the necessary and all possible dispensations, so as to have them so to speak in one's pouch, that when occasion may arise, an immediate answer may be given without raising doubts, which might lead to the loss of an opportunity. If Your Majesty finds the expedient a good one, it would be well to have a paper drawn up and entrusted to me to obtain the desired facilities.

I found Cardinal d'Adda here [former Nuncio at the Court of St. James] on a visit to an abbey of Camaldolese, of which he is protector. He left Rome, because the Imperialists wished to force him to put the Imperial arms over his door instead of those of the King of Spain. . . . He spoke to me with the utmost respect of the King and of Your Majesty, testifying the greatest zeal for your service. . . ."

The letter ends with a request for a cypher.

The disturbances in Scotland were increasing, and the Duke of Queensberry, Queen Anne's Commissioner, was nearly stoned to death in his carriage, surrounded by his guards. The hopes of the Scotch Jacobites showed no signs of decline, and plotting was active at the beginning of 1707. An element of distrust of Queen Mary Beatrice betrays itself in a memorial given to De Torcy January 8th, by Mr. Hooke, one of Renaudot's correspondents, on "matters regarding the Court of St. Germains."

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

"It will be necessary to communicate the enterprise to the Queen of England, because we have need of her letters, and those of the King her son, to the Lords of their party, who are very numerous and powerful, and also because we need letters from the Duke of Perth, who will not engage himself without the consent of the Queen. But it is very important that the Queen should keep the secret well, because the Court of St. Germains is full of doubtful persons, and we know by experience that very important matters have been made known in England in a manner that could never have been suspected. The Queen should therefore only know in a general way that the King [Louis XIV] intends to send a person into Scotland to dispose all things for the future.

In order that nothing may be known at St. Germains, . . . it would be well for the Queen to send the Duke of Perth's letters with her own and the King her son's to the Marquis de Torcy . . . Although the King attained his majority six months ago, his handwriting is not yet sufficiently known, so it will be necessary for the Queen to write words of her own in his letter to confirm their contents. 1707

In their letters, their British Majesties must entirely accredit the person sent by the King, as to what he shall say in their name, principally in what regards the liberties and religion of the Scotch. It would also be expedient for their Majesties to write to Mylord Granard in Ireland, who is in a position to make the whole north of that country take up arms. . . ."

We have no record of the Queen's answer to the suggestion, if indeed it was ever seriously made to her, that she should fully accredit an agent, receiving his instructions from the Court of France, to make promises in her name and that of her son on matters of which she was only to be allowed a "general" knowledge.

The peace rumours were increasing, and the Queen, writing 20th January, 1707, to the Duke of Modena to thank him for his New Year's good wishes, says:—

"I unite my prayers to yours for a good peace, good in every way, just and stable, so that every one may enjoy his own, without fear or losing it again . . meanwhile time passes, and we are getting old, I hope our children at least may see better days than those we see; in any case we must conform ourselves in all things to God's will, and think of another life, this one being well advanced, for you have now passed your fiftieth year, and I am very near it. God give us the grace of a good end. . . "

On the 20th February, 1707, the news arrived that the Austrian forces had re-taken Modena from the French, and Duke Rinaldo, who had fled to Rome, returned to his dominions.

A glimpse at the brighter side of the life at St. Germains is afforded in a letter of the old wit, Anthony Hamilton, to the Duke of Berwick in Spain.

"The King, our master, increases daily in wit, and the Princess his sister becomes more and more charming. Heaven prevent her being stolen from us! for her lady Governess [Lady Middleton]

1707 seems to have no other fear but that. The two are always near their august mother, to whom they pay the most dutiful and tender attention. . .

We will now speak of our beauties, those stars of St. Germains, always cruel and disdainful. Winter is near its end, and they begin to prepare their nets against the spring. They have mended, washed and spread out the delicate laces of which their *cornettes* are made, to bleach in your garden; all the bushes are covered with them, like so many spiders' webs. They are putting all their *falbalas* in order, and in the meantime, plunged in sweet reveries, they neglect the patterns on their tapestry frames.

"A painter might chose the figure of our young king for a model of the god of love, if such a deity could dare be represented in this saintly court of St. Germains. As for the Princess, her hair is very beautiful, and of the loveliest shade of brown; her complexion reminds us of the most brilliant yet delicate tints of the fairest spring flowers; she has her brother's features in a softer mould, and her mother's eyes. . . .

She has the roundness one adores in a divinity of sixteen, with the freshness of an Aurora; and if anything more may be said, it must be in praise of the shape and whiteness of her arms."

In another letter Hamilton delightfully describes a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thibaut in the forest of St. Germains, organised by the Princess Louise. St. Thibaut is supposed to cure the ague, and as the Queen's treasurer, Mr. Dicconson, sometimes has the ague, he is to be the person prayed for. "The fair Nannette [the Duchess of Berwick] chose to beguile her pilgrimage by looking for strawberries. I will tell you the names of some of the fair pilgrims who went with Her Royal Highness . . . the charming Miss Plowden was there, and those two divinities, the ladies Dillon and Marishal, but none was more agreeable than the Duchess of Berwick, unless it were the Princess. . . ."

The pilgrimage was followed by a sylvan repast, with the green grass for a table, but a French gentleman, the "Chevalier la Salle, who had attended them, not out of devotion, but gallantry," was ordered by the Princess for his want of piety to sit at the foot of a tree at a respectful distance, and to rinse

their glasses. They allowed him something to eat, and the forest glades rang with laughter. The mirth was enhanced by the unexpected appearance of Dicconson himself, who was greeted with cries of "a miracle! a miracle!" and asked the precise hour and minute when the fever had left him. "The repast did not end the less gaily for this, nor was the walk home the less agreeable. The shepherds, the shepherdesses, and the wood-cutters stopped to look at the courtly pilgrims, and admired their hilarity and good humour." 1707

Hamilton elsewhere describes the balls in winter, and a certain Shrovetide masquerade given by the Queen, to which the whole town of St. Germains was invited. The barriers were thrown down by her Majesty's order, that high and low, young and old, French and English might join in the Carnival. Etiquette forbade the Prince and Princess from wearing masks, but they danced merrily, the Prince with peculiar grace and lightness, but they both excelled in the accomplishment.

Among the greatest amusements in summer were the boating parties to Pontalie, the Countess of Gramont's (Hamilton's sister) country house on the Grand Canal in the Park of Versailles, given to her by Louis XIV, and which Hamilton compares to Horace's villa. The Countess had been one of the beauties of Charles II's Court, and then Dame du Palais to Queen Marie Therèse of France. Her wit and vivacity were as great as her beauty had been, and Pontalie was not only a favourite meeting place for the young Duchess of Burgundy and the Princess Louise, but the haunt of all the wits and celebrities of France.

There was a banquet at Versailles on Twelfth Night, 1708. The famous Long Gallery was lighted with 2,000 great candles, and "the King and the Princess of England were present, but not the Queen. A fortnight later, at a masked ball at Marly, the Princess had brought with her "Mesdemoiselles de Melfort and de Middleton, who are remarkably pretty, and dance very well." Dangeau's Journal

Dangeau's next entry regarding the Stuarts treats of graver

1708 matters. "Saturday, 3rd March. The King of England will certainly leave St. Germains on Tuesday or Wednesday at the latest; many of those who are to accompany him have already started. The King of England is transported with joy at the thought of the enterprise." Then follows the momentous little sentence: "The Princess of England has had the measles, but is cured. The Queen," he continues, "spends her time in prayer for the success of her son's voyage. He is calling himself the Chevalier of St. George. His governor, the Duke of Perth, left on Monday, and Middleton, Sheldon, Richard Hamilton, with several others. Forbin will be in command."

Louis XIV, suddenly yielding to the arguments of those who advised a "diversion in Scotland" as a remedy for the continued ill-success of his armies in Italy and Flanders, had determined to send James Stuart with what the latter, in a letter to Cardinal Paolucci calls "a good succour of troops, (6,000) to take possession of our kingdom of Scotland."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO POPE CLEMENT XI.

"ST GERMAINS, 8 *March* 1708.

Vatican Archives

". . . The King, my son, has done himself the honour of writing to acquaint Your Holiness with his departure and embarcation for Scotland, of which I hope, with the help of God, and with the troops the Most Christian King has given him, he will soon make himself master, the greater part of the people being ready to receive him with open arms, and to put him into a position to be able to advance into England with a large army.

At so important a conjuncture, when my maternal heart is full of such different sentiments of joy and pain, of hope and fear, I throw myself at the feet of Your Holiness to supplicate you humbly, but with greatest insistance (*istantissimamente*), not to refuse the king, my son, the necessary succours, which on such an occasion can, I think, be allotted without scruple of the Apostolic Chamber, as Your Holiness has often promised us, going so far as to say that for the re-establishment of the King of England you would even sell the sacred vessels, which would be more usefully employed for the glory of God in the conversion of three kingdoms, which is my son's principal end in this enterprise, than by remaining on the altars; but I do not ask so much, I would only remind Your Holiness of the sum of

100,000 *scudi* which you had the goodness, some years ago, to place in the hands of Cardinal Gualterio in the hope that something might be effected in Scotland for my son's service, who undertaking nothing at that time, we did not ask for the money, and have always kept inviolable secrecy concerning it, as we shall continue to do; now that it is no longer a question of hopes, words or promises, but that the King my son has departed, and that the Most Christian King, with indescribable goodness and generosity, has granted a large succour of troops and money, I cannot doubt but Your Holiness will be incited to follow his example, and thus encourage him (by joining with him) to continue the help necessary to sustain so glorious an enterprise . . and will deign to take measures for the future with the Most Christian King to furnish funds as they are needed, and proportionate to those given by him . . . " 1708

James was in bed with the measles at Dunkirk when his mother wrote. With the disregard for infection which characterised the time, no precautions had been taken to discover if he had caught the disease from his sister before starting on an enterprise of which, once entered upon, promptitude of execution was the very soul. Precious time was lost before, in defiance of the doctors, he was able to insist on being put on board ship, whence he wrote to his mother: "At last I am on board. The body is very feeble, but courage is so good, it will sustain the weakness of the body. I hope not to write to you again until I do so from Edinburgh Castle, where I expect to arrive on Saturday." Dangeau's Journal

Admiral Forbin at once encountered a heavy gale, and Sir George Byng, who had had time to put out to sea, gave chase to the French fleet, much inferior to his own. Forbin entered the Firth of Forth, but was afraid to land, in spite of James's vehement entreaties to be set on shore; his ships dispersed, the *Salisbury* and another smaller vessel were taken, and the rest returned to Dunkirk. The Duke of Berwick, in his account of the expedition, attributes blame to the French Ministers. "The affair was very badly concerted, owing to the jealousies and differences between Chamillard, Minister of War, and Pontchartrain, Minister of Marine. It was also held that if Forbin, Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick

1708 who was in command, had ventured to risk losing his vessels, the young King might have been landed, and by running his ships ashore, the troops could have disembarked . . . England was void of troops, and Queen Anne, according to all appearances, in order to prevent a civil war would have sought an accommodation."

The 3rd of April the news reached Paris that Queen Anne had informed Parliament of James's embarkation, and had declared all those who had joined the "Pretender," upon whose head a price was set, guilty of high treason. This was the first occasion on which the term "Pretender" was used.

James wrote from Dunkirk to entreat Louis XIV to allow him to join the army in Flanders, a request supported by the Queen, and which was immediately granted.

Of the Scotch gentlemen who expected him, some were thrown into the Tolbooth, but on their trial, in the following November, they were all unanimously acquitted.

The Queen turned, in her disappointment, to her friends at Chaillot. "The desolation of my soul would excite your pity, could you look into its depths," she writes, after the return of her son to St. Germains. "My heart is also much broken, and I have had, these ten days past, business and domestic quarrels which have disturbed and vexed me to a degree of which I am ashamed. I declare to you that coming so immediately after my other trouble, I have been quite overwhelmed. . . . I was at the Review on Friday; my son was there, and many English, who were, it is said, much pleased with him.

"My God! what a world this is, and who may understand it? For my part, the more I know of it, the less I comprehend it; unhappy are they who have much to do with it! . . ."

The Queen's own disappointments never lessened her sympathy in the joys of her friends. On the 26th March she wrote a charming letter to the Duchess of Modena on the occasion of the first Communion of her eldest daughter, concluding :—"I feel a particular affection for her, having been told by some Irish officers who had seen her that she greatly resembles me. . . ."

James left St. Germains on the 18th of May at 7 in the morning, dined at Chantilly, slept at Senlis, and reached Valenciennes, where he found the Duke of Burgundy two days later. 1708

The Queen, who was well aware of the inferiority of the French commanders to their opponents, writes before the end of May to a nun at Chaillot :—" We have been in expectation of great news for several days past. I may tell you in confidence that they have missed the opportunity of a great stroke in Flanders, and I fear a similar one will not present itself again in this campaign. God be praised for all, we must try and be satisfied with all that happens. . . ."

The Queen was exerting herself to the utmost to save the lives of the gentlemen taken on board the *Salisbury*, among whom were Lord Griffin and the Earl of Middleton's two sons, Lord Clermont and Mr. Middleton ; she applied to M. de Chamillard, Minister of War, urging him to claim them as officers in the service of Louis XIV, and she writes 23 June to Chaillot :—" My Chevalier is in perfect health, thank God, and I am better than I have been for a long time. . . . We have some hopes of obtaining the liberty of the two Middletons, and of the Irish prisoners ; but for My lord Griffin, they have condemned him to die on the 27th of this month, which gives me great pain. I recommend him to your prayers, and to those of our dear sisters."

Lord Griffin was not executed ; his sentence was remitted from time to time until his natural death two years later.

The news of the battle of Oudenarde, where James Stuart had an opportunity of witnessing the superior military genius of his secret correspondent the Duke of Marlborough, reached Versailles on the 14th July. The young Prince distinguished himself in this his first great battle, where the Electoral Prince of Hanover fought on the winning side. The Duke of Berwick writes of " the great valour and coolness of the King of England," while Madame de Maintenon, in a letter to the Princess des Ursins, says :—" The Queen of England is very well pleased with the King her son, and she has reason to be so ; he is behaving admirably, and if his nation were not so bad (*si* Recueil Bossage, vol. i. p. 272

1708 *méchant*) it would declare for him. He wrote to the Queen the other day that his *incognito* suits him very well, giving him constant opportunities of meeting the officers." And again: "The Chevalier of St. George is so well liked, that if he wished to return to Scotland, there would be as great a press to follow him, as there was before to escape that voyage."

St. Simon relates that M. de Biron, a French officer taken prisoner at Oudenarde, was very well treated by the English commanders; that the Duke of Marlborough asked him many questions at dinner about the Prince of Wales, apologising for calling him thus, and declared himself very much pleased with de Biron's praise, while all the English officers listened with delighted faces (*visages épanouis*).

The young Chevalier certainly won the esteem and regard of his comrades, and especially of his Commander the Duke of Vendôme. He returned to St. Germains at the end of the year; he had caught intermittent fever at Mons during the campaign, and the Queen writes in the spring, 11 April 1709, to Chaillot to explain that she cannot go there for Holy Week. "If the war continues, as is supposed, the King, my son, will be soon on the point of leaving me for the army. It is not right, therefore, that I should quit him, as he is not yet wholly recovered from his fever; he had a touch of it yesterday, though he perseveres in taking the bark five times a day."

Mary Beatrice and her children lost a faithful friend in their old cousin, the abbess of Maubuisson, the Princess Louise Palatine, elder sister of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, who died, in her 87th year, in February 1709. The Chaillot papers contain ten letters from her, full of eager sympathy and hope for the cause of James Stuart, and of admiration for the virtues of his mother. She and her nuns are bound to pray for the Prince's restoration, she more than once observes, as their foundress, Blanche of Castille, charged their convent ever to pray for her descendants, among whom he ranks through his grandmother Queen Henrietta Maria.

Another loss to the Queen was that of Robert Strickland,

her vice-chamberlain, who had walked first in her coronation procession, and, with his wife, Bridget Manock, had followed her to Versailles. Writing to Angélique Priolo that he had been seized with paralysis, and that his wife was in despair, the Queen adds :—"I am grieved, and shall be sorry to lose him, for he is an ancient servant, and very affectionate." He died 6 March, 1709, at the age of seventy. 1709

James Stuart left St. Germains in June for his second campaign in Flanders under Marshal Villars, and Renaudot presents a memoir to the French Ministry the following month, urging the necessity of another attempt to create a diversion "in this dangerous war," when the French arms were being worsted in Flanders and in Italy, by sending the Prince—not to Scotland, but to Ireland—as being "at the present moment safer and more certain." He must be sent there with all the foreign troops now serving under the French flag in Flanders and in Spain, and with a certain number of French officers, "and there will be a general revolution in the three kingdoms, immediately upon the landing of their King. Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

"This enterprise must not be known at St. Germains, and must be conducted solely by the King (Louis XIV) and his Ministers. . . ."

The suggestion met with no favour at Court. Unsuccessful war, famine, and a shrinking revenue had inclined Louis XIV rather to thoughts of peace than to the renewal, for the fifth time, of an attempt to restore the Stuarts. He had sent plenipotentiaries to the Hague before recommencing hostilities to discuss terms of peace with the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and the Memoirs of the Marquis de Torcy contain interesting evidence of Marlborough's attitude towards the Prince and his mother. He advised de Torcy to renew the demand for the Queen's dowry. "Insist strenuously on that article." He was still more explicit to the Duke of Berwick, advising that the Chevalier should withdraw from the protection of France, "hoping thus by prudent arrangement to see all parties united to recognise him as successor to his sister's throne."

1709 The peace negotiations were fruitless, war was renewed, and the Court of St. Germains trusted too little in Marlborough's loyalty to follow his advice with regard to the grave step of discarding the protection of the King of France.

The Queen was struggling with financial difficulties; the French exchequer was in so exhausted a condition that her pension was irregularly paid, and Madame de Maintenon, in answer to her complaint against the discount claimed by the French officials, advised her to acquiesce in the inevitable, as the King was himself greatly inconvenienced by the deficiency in his revenue.

One of the results of these embarrassments must have been peculiarly painful to the Queen; the rent for her apartment at Chaillot was in arrear, and the nuns, after suggesting that a portion of it might with advantage be sublet, proceeded, apparently without waiting for an answer, to let certain rooms, including that of the Princess Louise Marie, to Madame de l'Orge and her daughter, who hearing from Lady Sophia Bulkeley that the Queen would be seriously inconvenienced, offered to let her have the use of them when she came to Chaillot with the Princess.

With admirable temper Mary Beatrice writes to the Superior, May, 1709, that it would be difficult for her ladies "to accommodate themselves in places now occupied by the waiting-maids. . . . However, if you, dear mother, or Madame and Mademoiselle de l'Orge have any trouble about the apartment, I pray you to tell me so plainly, with your usual sincerity, and I will endeavour to make some other arrangement, at least if it be in our power. You can, if you please, consult my dear sisters Catherine Angélique and Marie Gabrielle, about it, and then take your resolution and send me word, for in case my daughter can continue where she is, I should wish them to take away the furniture of Madame, and I would send mine. . . . I cannot accept the offer she makes me of the loan of her chamber; I say this in case she wishes to take it from me. . . ." The apartment was relinquished by the intruding

British Museum.

James (III)

tenant, and the blunder of the nuns caused no change in the Queen's affectionate intercourse with them. 1709

Mary Beatrice had reason to be again proud of the warlike qualities of her son ; at the battle of Malplaquet, 11 September, 1709, the Prince, who had risen from an attack of fever to hasten to the field, distinguished himself with a valorous intrepidity which aroused the admiration of both friends and foes. The Duke of Berwick, St. Simon, Dangeau, give the same account of his conduct, while Marshal Boufflers, who had succeeded to the command, after Villars had been dangerously wounded, described him in his despatches to Louis XIV as behaving "during the whole action with the utmost valour." When the cavalry of the allies broke his lines, Boufflers ordered the Prince to advance at the head of 1,200 horse. He performed the duty so well that in one charge he repulsed and broke the German horse, and nothing but the steadiness of the English troops and the consummate skill of their commander prevented the rout from becoming general. Though wounded by a sabre cut in the right arm, the Chevalier stood his ground, charging twelve times under six hours' continuous fire. Boufflers' despatches

With fever in his veins, as he flung himself time after time upon the German host, the blue ribbon across his breast as much a safeguard as a target in the sight of the English, visions may have passed through the young man's mind of snatching a crown at the cannon's mouth, of cutting a way to the hearts of his countrymen by proving himself worthy to be their king. And when the day went against him, and the supreme effort had been made in vain, some mainspring of action may have snapped, some sense of the fatality which weighed upon his race may have begun unconsciously to influence his character. "He was recognised by the English," writes Dangeau, "as he had refused to hide his Order [of the Garter], and Skelton, who had been taken prisoner two days previously, brought back the news that all the English soldiers had drunk his health."

St. Simon speaks of the loss of the battle, "in spite of the efforts and example of King James."

CHAPTER XIV

1710 THE disastrous effects of long-continued defeat in war were keenly felt in France the following winter. St. Simon notes that for the first time during his reign Louis XIV gave no New Year's presents to his family, and that the 40,000 *pistoles* he used to employ for his own, he sent to supply the needs of his troops on the Flemish frontier, while the longing for peace was becoming ever greater in the country.

In the spring an infectious fever broke out at Chaillot among the nuns and the Queen was warned not to go there. With her usual disregard for infection she rebels against the advice. She writes of her anxiety for the sick, especially her dear Françoise Angélique Priolo and :—"I cannot see any reason . . . . why I should not come. You know that I have no fear but of colds, and I see no cause to apprehend infection. . . . . So, with your permission I shall be with you on Monday evening. I entreat you to send me tidings of our invalids. The drowsiness of my Sister Françoise Angélique does not please me. I am very glad you have made her leave off the *viper broth*, which is too heating for her. . . . . We are all well here, thank God. . . . . My daughter must not come, but for me there is nothing to fear. . . . ."

Notwithstanding the reverses inflicted by the English upon James Stuart's protector Louis XIV, the policy adopted by Mary Beatrice during her regency—the tranquil restoration of her son by friendly negotiations with Queen Anne and her Ministers—never seemed nearer fulfilment than in the year 1710.

How high the waters of Jacobitism had risen was proved by 1710
the success of Sacheverell's sermon in favour of non-resistance at St. Paul's on the 5th November 1709, preached before the Lord Mayor, in which he openly attacked Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, pointed to the Whig Ministers as false friends and true enemies of the Church, called them *Wily Volpones* in obvious reference to Godolphin's nickname ; and sold 40,000 copies of the sermon, which he published and dedicated to the Lord Mayor.

On the day of his trial cheering multitudes followed his carriage which was escorted by six others, and his sentence was so slight—suspension from preaching for three years—that it was regarded as a triumph, while his subsequent journeys about the country were like royal progresses.

A letter of Godolphin's to Queen Mary Beatrice or her Minister having fallen into the hands of his greatest enemy Lord Wharton, he was compelled to resign, as did Lord Sunderland, the Duke of Marlborough's son-in-law ; the Duke and Godolphin first obtaining from Queen Anne the publication of a general pardon, in which correspondence with St. Germains was particularly specified. Marlborough was in disgrace with Queen Anne, and during the following campaign in the Lowlands, where James served again as a volunteer under Marshal de Villars, a close correspondence was kept up between the English Commander and the Duke of Berwick, who was this year created Duke and Peer of France, and through him with the Queen and her son. "This was with the consent of the King" [Louis XIV], says St. Simon, adding that Marlborough duped all three ; an opinion which his correspondence with the Elector of Hanover fully justifies.

While the hostile armies lay encamped on either side of the Scarpe, much friendly intercourse went on between James's retinue and the English officers. The Prince was asked to show himself on the banks of a narrow stream to a group who ardently desired to see him, and medals bearing his bust and inscription were eagerly accepted. Charles Booth, Groom of the

1710 bed-chamber at St. Germains, writes to Lord Middleton, July 23rd, that he had sent the medals by a trumpeter, who brought back word "that thirty English officers spoke to him to bring them medals." Some were also addressed to General Officers, each wrapped in paper bearing the words :—"The metal is good, for it bore six hours fire ; you know it was hot, for yourselves blew the coals. . . . ." Postscript : "You know it was well tried. 11th Sept. 1709 " [Malplaquet].

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

A letter from the Queen to the Duke of Marlborough was sent by Marshal de Villars to the English Commander, enclosed in one of his own military notes, by a trumpet. It was addressed under the name of Gurney, and spoke of her son as *Mr. Mathews.* She says that what Marlborough wrote to his nephew on the 13th of last month was of such importance that she thinks herself obliged to answer it in her own hand :—

Macpherson. Nairne's Stuart Papers

"I shall tell you in the first place, that I was glad to find you still continue in your good resolutions towards Mr Mathews, I was surprised, on the other hand, to see you had a design of quitting everything as soon as the peace was concluded ; for I find that to be the only means of rendering you useless to your friends, and your retreat may prove dangerous to yourself. You are too large a mark, and too much exposed for malice to miss, and your enemies will never believe themselves in safety till they have ruined you."—"But as you are lost if you quit your employment, I see likewise, on the other hand, that it will be difficult for you to keep in office as things are at present, so that your interest itself now declares for your honour. You cannot be in safety without discharging your duty, and the time is precious to you as well as to us. The advice you give us in sending us to the new favourite (Mrs Masham) is very obliging ; but what can we hope from a stranger, who has no obligation to us ? Whereas we have all the reasons in the world to depend upon you, since we have now but the same interest to manage, and you have the power to put Mr Mathews in a condition to protect you. Lay aside then, I beseech you, your resolution of retiring. Take courage, and without losing more time, send us a person in whom you can have entire confidence ; or, if you have not such a man with you, allow us to send you one whom we may

trust. . . . We shall know, by your speedy and positive answer to this letter, what judgment we can form of our affairs. . . . 1710

I must not finish my letter without thanking you for promising to assist me in my suit at the treaty of peace. My cause is so just that I have all reason to hope I shall gain it; at least I flatter myself that Mr Matthew's *sister* is of too good a disposition to oppose it. . . ."

The Protestant succession may be said to have hung in the balance when letters such as this passed between the English commander and the mother of the Prince who was within a ride of the English camp, but Marlborough waited; £90,000 a year was too great a stake for a money-loving man to risk, and he let the occasion pass of a *volte-face* on the banks of the Scarpe, which would have counteracted that he had executed at Salisbury twenty-two years before.

The Prince returned to St. Germains in September.

During his absence the Queen and the Princess of England had assisted at the marriage of the Duke of Berry—whom rumour had once designed as a match for the Princess—with Mademoiselle, daughter of the Duke of Orléans. St. Simon gives a proof of the unfailing respect of Louis XIV to the Queen :—"The King had ordered all the ladies to appear in full dress the previous day to receive the Queen and the Princess of England."

After Rizzini's death, no other envoy had replaced him in Paris. Duke Rinaldo had given himself entirely to Austria, and diplomatic relations with France had ceased, only to be resumed in 1716. The *avvisi* continued regularly, but contained little beyond general news, and the Queen's letters to Modena were mere letters of compliment. The Emperor Joseph had put the Duke in possession of Mirandola, "contrary to the hopes held out at Vienna to the Prince of Mirandola, who had offered 200,000 ducats to be reinstated in his principality. It is believed that the Empress, although she is the Duke of Modena's sister-in-law, is not pleased that he should have prevailed." Rinaldo lost his wife, at the age of

1710 thirty-nine, in the autumn, and the Queen writes, October 15, to tell him of her "great and sensible trouble to hear of the loss you and all our house have sustained by the death of our good Duchess, whose soul God rest. . . ."

Towards the end of the year Queen Anne's new Lord Treasurer Harley, Earl of Oxford, approached the Duke of Berwick by sending to him at St. Germains Abbé Gaultier, the French agent in London,[1] "to concert with me," writes the Duke, "on the affairs of King James, and on the means of procuring his restoration, but before entering into the matter he had orders to exact a promise—1st, that no one at St. Germains, not even the Queen, should have cognisance of it; 2nd, that Queen Anne should retain the crown for her life; and 3rd, that sufficient assurances should be given for the preservation of the Anglican Church and the liberties of the people." The conclusion of the peace must precede any further step, or the Ministry would not venture upon so delicate a matter. Although the Duke could not see that the one could interfere with the other, "to show that we would omit nothing on our side, we wrote to all the Jacobites to join the Court party, which helped to make the Queen so strong in the House of Commons that everything passed there according to her desires." It was agreed that James should join the Duke, who was going to command the French forces in Dauphiny, so as to be on the spot when Harley should send his project. "The Prince came, but I received no papers, and heard no more until the following winter."

Memoirs of Duke of Berwick

As the pressure of his enemies became greater and inflicted severer losses upon his arms, the urgency of the suggestions to Louis XIV to save everything by a diversion in Scotland increased. The archives of the *Affaires Étrangères* and the Renaudot papers preserve them, and we can trace the palpita-

[1] Abbe Gaultier had been third curate at the parish church of St. Germains. "He had applied for four months' leave of absence" says the Chaillot Journal, "and went to Normandy. Having exceeded his leave by fifteen days he was replaced. Abbé Gaultier was much vexed, and being without employment, passed into England . . . . where he negotiated the peace."

tions of eager hopes and eager wrath which inspired them :— 1711
"The Presbyterians are so angry at the protection accorded to Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.
the Episcopalians by Parliament that they would join anybody with pleasure who would repeal the union between the two kingdoms. The King's return is the only means, according to them, to do so. . . . He must come quickly. . . . If he can bring 10,000 men, he will meet with no resistance, if he brings 5,000 his chance will still be good, but not so certain.

"The Princess of Denmark is, it is believed, well inclined towards her brother, but does not know whom to trust. The Earl of Derby, who has that Princess's confidence, told me he had adroitly sounded her on the subject; she did not open herself to him, but she said nothing against the King. . . ."

The next significant paragraph reminds us how the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes acted as a blight, from first to last, on the fortunes of the Stuarts. Its passing was an important factor in the overthrow of James II, coming as it did in the first year of his reign, and serving the press and the pulpit with an unfailing and plausible argument against the intolerant spirit of Popery. The fear that James, re-established by the force of the French arms, might follow examples learned at the Court of France, survived all his most earnest and sincere declarations, public as well as private, in favour of liberty of conscience, and appears perpetually in the words and writings of the Protestant Jacobites. Not only did such men as the Ruvignys become important instruments in the hands of William III, but battalions of Huguenots ranged themselves in the rank and file of his armies and those of his successors. In the dealings through Renaudot with the English Protestant Jacobites, whenever they were invited to send delegates to the Court of France, elaborate promises had to be made that they should not be troubled while on French soil on account of their religion, and now, twenty-six years after the fatal Revocation, the writer of the above memorial says :—"If the Most Christian King would permit the protestant servants of the King of England [at St. Germains] to meet and pray to God

1711 together according to their manner, it would have a very good effect in England, and would serve as a gage to all men of what he would do in future for the Protestants." [1]

A measure which Louis XIV probably considered an act strictly between himself and a small section of his subjects thus helped to ruin and to preserve in oppression princes whom he spent so much blood and treasure in the vain effort to restore, and earned for him, in a sense that monarch probably ignored, Leopold II's accusation that he was the greatest enemy to religion in Europe. The Emperor referred to the subsidies given by Louis to the Turks when warring against Austria, but certain breaches of the laws of justice and good faith have consequences as widespread and unexpected as they are desolating and enduring.

Renaudot Papers, Bib. Nat.

The memorial ends with a recommendation that the King should bring "the Duke of Berwick with him, as he is greatly beloved, and all would readily submit to him. Time passes, peace will probably be made next winter and then all will have to begin again. . . . On the other hand, if the Princess of Denmark dies, Hanover will bring German troops who, by an Act of Parliament, will be naturalised on their arrival. He will thus be able to destroy the King's party, and all will be lost, or at least greatly endangered."

While the Court of St. Germains firmly adhered to the belief that the restoration of James Stuart could best be obtained by negotiations with Queen Anne and her Ministers, and the French diplomatists acted with the view of benefiting their own country by provoking intestine strife in the British Isles, all concerted action became well-nigh impossible. A direct appeal to Queen Anne by the young Chevalier was urged by the English party and opposed by the French Court. The Marquis de Torcy writes to the Duke of Berwick from Marly, 1 June, 1711 :—" . . . . I am pressed for the corrected draft of the letter [from James Stuart to Queen Anne] I should,

[1] The permission was not granted. During the Irish expedition D'Avaux, by Louis XIV's order, refused to attend a Council, to which James II had admitted one or two Protestants

however, prefer its not being written at all, as I hear from all sides that the efforts of the King of England will do him more harm than good. . . . You know, however, that this is not the time to communicate this secret to St. Germains." 1711

The projected letter exists among Nairne's papers, and though probably never sent to Queen Anne is interesting for the following passage ; after saying he wished to owe his restoration to her :—"It is for yourself that a work so just and glorious is reserved. The voice of God and nature calls you to it. The promises you made to the King our Father enjoin it. . . ."

Meanwhile Abbé Gaultier writes to the French Court :—

"16 *June*, 1711.

". . . . I repeat that Mongoulin [James Stuart] will lose all credit if he writes as you say he thinks of doing ; his letter will be ill-received and his friends will not be pleased." Affaires Étrangères

"19 *June.*

"I am desired to tell Mongoulin that he must absolutely not think of writing to his aunt [Queen Anne] at present, unless he wishes to quarrel with his whole family."

The English Government was on the alert, and a squadron was sent before Brest, and another under Hardy before Dunkirk, while James according to the plan agreed upon between the Duke of Berwick and Harley started for Besançon and Lyons on his way to join Berwick's army in Dauphiné.

In an interesting letter of June 17 from one of the French Ministers, probably de Torcy to the Duke of Berwick, we see how the attempt to divide the interests of Mary Beatrice and her son was met by them :—

". . . . I sounded the King of England before his departure, as to his keeping matters secret from the Queen and Lord Middleton. I told him those who are working for him are as distrustful of the one as of the other . . . and that they would never discover themselves unless they were assured beforehand that their names and their designs should be concealed from Her Majesty and from Lord Middleton. *Ibid*

"It would be useless to repeat all the just and reasonable things the

1711 King or England said to me. It was at last determined that he should tell the Queen that there were well-intentioned persons who demanded that she should not be informed of what they were going to do. He assured me the Queen would consent to it with pleasure, and in truth when I went to St Germains a few days later . . . she herself confirmed it, adding she was not surprised at the opinion the English had of her, that they had reproached her with many events of which she had not been the cause, that she did not complain of their present want of confidence ; on the contrary she regarded it as an advantage, for if the affairs of the King of England passed solely through the King's hands, His Majesty would be all the more constrained to watch over his interests, and to act a father's part towards him. . . . The last letters from Holland show that there are suspicions as to what is going on in England in favour of the legitimate King. His Britannic Majesty has given me the letter he has written to Queen Anne, and which he was good enough to correct according to the draft I gave him. I shall send it by the next ordinary to the man you know of [Gaultier]."

Gaultier had evidently modified his opinion as to the inexpediency of a letter to Queen Anne, for de Torcy in sending it to him says:—". . . I hope it may please. . . . My honour is engaged that you should get an answer, otherwise it will be thought I had too lightly credited what you had told me. Mongoulin's intention was to send it by one of his friends to M. Vandenberg [Harley] and to write to him and to M. Deslandes [Mrs. Masham]. I thought it would embarrass them both and spoil the business. Let them know, therefore, that if Mongoulin has not written to them it was through no want of esteem . . . . but simply out of consideration for their position."

With their young King gone to the war, his mother and sister retired to Chaillot, and of their sojourn and conversations there, a minute record remains to us in the Journal covering the years 1711, '12 and '13, kept by the nuns, and which furnishes us with many an interesting detail. The Chevalier's letters as they arrive from Besançon and Lyons are read and re-read, commented on and placed in the Chaillot Archives "in King James III's drawer." From Lyons the

Prince sends his sister the finest piece of brocade he can find to make her a skirt; he doubted his own taste, so "prayed Mme. the *Intendante* to choose it for him. . . ." 1711

This is what the King wrote in his last letter to the Princess of England in August :—

"We are diverting ourselves well in spite of the rain. . . . I went to a banquet given by Mr Ideton (*sic*), an Irish Lieutenant General under our General; such are the chances of fortune. Our cousin of Savoy preferred taking the waters to making us a visit; we had modestly retired half a league, and glory came to seek us and crown us in our camp, where we are in perfect security. . . ." Some of us remarking on the agreeable style of the King's letters, the Queen said it was true her son made himself liked and esteemed; she had heard from Mylord Middleton (*who had accompanied James*) that two deserters from the Duke of Berwick's Regiment having given themselves up to the German General Thaun commanding the Duke of Savoy's army, he had exclaimed: 'You are cowards for leaving your army, especially when the King, your master, is there.' 'I was surprised,' said the Queen, 'that a German should be so polite, and should dare to give my son the name of King.'"

The Queen wrote from Chaillot 2 August, 1711, to de Torcy :—

". . . . I thought it right in my son's absence to thank Cardinal de la Tremouille for what he has done for him since Cardinal Caprara's death [late Protector of the English at Rome] . . . when I had my pen in hand, I let it run on to other matters, into which I had perhaps done better not to have entered. In this doubt I send you my letter open, so that you may despatch it or burn it, as you may judge fitting. Some of the parentheses are a little too long, but as I do not pride myself on writing good French, provided people understand what I mean, it is all I desire. . . . Affaires Étrangères

"I have another thing to ask you; before my son's departure Mylord Fingal, whom you saw in Paris, strongly urged him to empower him to borrow money for his service from certain rich and well-intentioned persons. . . . My son thanked him, but neither accepted nor rejected the proposition, wishing, as he told me, to consult you first. . . . Lord Fingal, who is on the point of leaving, presses me strongly for a positive answer; I have therefore, resolved

1711 to ask you what I shall say to him ; you can judge better than I, if this small affair, at the present juncture may not do harm to greater ones, which I do not believe, as it will make no noise ; for though he proposes to find £20,000, I shall try to persuade him to begin with a less sum, which he can obtain by addressing himself only to three or four persons. . . ."

News of an event full of promise to the Stuart cause arrived at this time from Scotland,—the Duchess of Gordon had presented a silver medal of James Stuart to the faculty of lawyers at Edinburgh, bearing his effigy with the words *cujus est?* on one side, and a fleet approaching the British Isles on the other with the word *reddite*. Sixty-three out of the seventy-five lawyers present voted it should be accepted and classed under the title of James VIII of Scotland, and ordered their dean to thank the Duchess in their name.

The cloistered chronicler of Chaillot rejoices at the acquittal of the bold advocates, and the Queen tells the nuns that the discourse or one of them, Dundas of Arniston, has been printed and widely circulated in England and Scotland. "For my part," exclaims the Princess Louise, "I am delighted not to know the future." "It is a great mercy of God to hide it from us," said the Queen, "when I came into France, I should have been in despair if I had been told I must remain here two years,—we have been here twenty-three . . . " "It seems to me, Madam," continued the Princess, "that those who, like me, have been born in misfortune are less to be pitied than others ; never having tasted good fortune, they feel their unhappiness less, and they can always hope ; but yet it is a sad destiny to spend the best days of one's youth in so hard a situation."

An immediate reply to this complaint comes from one of the nuns :—"What say you, Madam ? . . . The Queen, your grandmother, used to thank God for having made her a queen, and an unhappy queen ; it is a great happiness that Your Royal Highness does not find herself in a condition to enjoy all the pleasures due to her birth and rank." "That is true," said the

Queen, ". . . I thank God for you and for my son that you are, at present, in the state you find yourselves, your inclination to pleasure might have led you too far." "You are right, Madam," acquiesces her young daughter. Mother Angélique next takes up the thread of reminiscences :—"The Queen our foundress used to say in spite of all her sorrows she was glad to be a queen, 'the title is always a good one, and I do not cease to be pleased with it.'" "How was that possible?" cried the Queen, "for my part, I never tasted that pretended happiness; I was so afflicted at the death of King Charles II that I dared not show the exent of my grief for fear of being accused of dissimulation and grimace." 1711

The Queen next spoke of her coronation :—"Never can there have been a more magnificent or well-ordered coronation . . . . of all the jewels on my dress and mantle, only one small diamond, worth forty francs, was lost . . . A presage which struck us all . . . was that the King's crown would not stay on his head, it appeared ready to fall off, for all the care that was used to steady it . . . I only knew happiness in England from the age of fifteen to twenty, but during those five years, I was always having children and lost them all: so judge of that happiness . . . . At our first exile to Brussels, King Charles came to bid us good-bye. He was beside himself with grief and wept. He said :—'The wind is against you, don't go.' I flew into a passion and cried, 'How, Sir, you send us into exile and now you are vexed; we must go, you have ordered it.' But I was wrong," continued her Majesty, "he was not his own master, he had to yield to our enemies . . . . "

The Queen seems always to have preserved an intrepidity worthy of her rank: "Her Majesty sometimes said the King and she had always tried to inspire a like firmness in their children, and that the King, who was very rarely angry, had once lost his temper when the Prince of Wales, at the age of four, had shown signs of fear. 'As for that,' added the Queen, 'the Duchess of Modena, my mother, having noticed that I was frightened when nine years old, at having a gun fired in the

1711 chimney of my room, ordered the firing to be continued until I showed no more alarm.'

"The Queen is infinitely sensible of all her misfortunes, but none touches her great soul more nearly than her state of dependance, and her fear of being importunate; she refuses herself everything, so as to have the less to ask for . . . . she observes the extremest moderation. One day . . . she appeared much annoyed during her dinner and spoke warmly to Madame Strickland in English; . . . afterwards she did us the honour to tell us she was angry because Madame Strickland had served some young partridges, which must have cost dear, and she had absolutely forbidden any such expense."

The Princess Louise had inherited her father's love of sport, and on one occasion when the Queen had mentioned the late King's and her mother's objection to her riding after her accidents in Scotland, the Princess exclaimed:—"Well, after my accident last year when I was thrown and broke my nose, I was by no means disgusted, and my first question was to ask if the hare was caught; the equerry was astonished at my enquiry; but the King my brother will not hear reason on this subject. He cannot bear to see a woman on horseback." "Necessity has settled the question for you," said the Queen, "you have no horse fit to ride."

The kind Dauphiness who knew her tastes, sometimes contrived to give the young Princess a day's hunting. "In September, she ordered the Duke of Lauzun," says our Journal, "to summon a hunting-party in the Bois de Boulogne, to be followed by a supper at the Duke's house at Passy." An equerry bringing a horse and a lady's habit arrived with a note from the Dauphiness to the Queen "asking her to permit the princess to use the horse, which was one habitually ridden by herself, and to excuse the liberty of sending one of her own habits to the Princess of England . . . but the shortness of the time prevented her from having a new one made . . . Her Majesty answered with her own hand . . . that it would be very wrong of her to refuse what was asked with so much

goodness and civility . . . and that she felt real joy at the pleasure offered to her daughter. At half past twelve the Duchesses of Lauzun and Duras arrived to fetch the Princess, whose habit was scarlet laced with gold, while the others were all in half-mourning, grey and black. . . . At nine o'clock in the evening Her Royal Highness returned with Lady Middleton, well-satisfied with her day's pleasure." 1711

The vision of her beautiful daughter in the rich red and gold must have remained with the Queen through the sorrowful days which were coming with the coming year. The following Tuesday she determined to go to Versailles to see the King and to thank the Dauphiness, and we see there was still a touch of human nature in the saintly queen. "I am quite embarrassed to show myself," she said several times, "I feel so old, and that others think of me what I think of them, so that we frighten one another."

One day, "October 21st," says the Journal, "a note from the Duke of Lauzun was put into the Queen's hand as she was on her way to the Chapel; she read it and showed it to her daughter and passed on, merely desiring one of the Sisters to write and thank the Duke and to ask him to keep her informed of what he might learn. . . . The Princess wept sorely during her dinner, but the Queen showed no sign of emotion." Lauzun had reported a few words uttered by Louis XIV at his *levee* "I wish the public to know what is passing. The English offer conditions of peace which are tolerably reasonable, and the choice of three towns to treat in." The Superior observed: "Probably, Madame, the King, your son, and Your Majesty, may find your advantage in a peace." The Queen's reply was merely: "Peace is so great a good that we must always rejoice in it, and we have so many obligations to France that we can never wish too heartily for what may benefit her." [1]

[1] The *Avviso* of Nov. 25 informs the Duke of Modena that Louis XIV "has sent Queen Anne 1500 bottles of excellent champagne and 500 of Burgundy, with some magnificent dresses, among them a violet one all embroidered with gold of the greatest beauty, His Majesty having had the material woven expressly. A service of a new kind of silver gilt (vermeil) is also being made for her." A previous *avviso* reports Nov. 9:—"Duke Mazarin, who is over eighty years of age, is marrying a young lady of fifteen."

1711 Mary Beatrice wrote to her son to hasten his return, but Gaultier writing to de Torcy from London 3 November, 1711, says :—

Affaires Étrangères

"If by any chance Mongoulin has not yet returned home, do not press him to do so, as I think for his own interest he will have to go back to the country. . . ."

"4 *December.*

"Mongoulin must stay where he is and make no stir, and then it is believed no notice will be taken of him. Prothose [Queen Anne] and her friends [the Ministers] will think of him at the right time."

Mary Beatrice's faithful friend Cardinal Gualterio had managed her private affairs in Rome so well that he was able in January, 1712, to send her a round sum of money from her Monti estates. He writes at the same time that her son had better not "hazard his most precious person" by going to England "without full security. I will also take the liberty of telling Your Majesty you would do well to return to St Germains, out of regard for your health" [Gualterio always maintained that Chaillot air did not suit the Queen], "and for the consolation of the poor people there. God designed Your Majesty for the throne and not for the cloister, and it is necessary to submit to His will, even though thorns take the place in Your Majesty's crown, of jewels in the crowns of others. I humbly beg your forgiveness for my most respectful liberty. . . ."

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,294, f. 120

Gaultier, now that the negotiations for peace were on foot, suggests that Louis XIV should write to Queen Anne and that "Mongoulin might seize the occasion to let Prothose [Queen Anne] know his sentiments, and that he is ready to be guided by the advice she may send him."[1]

A withdrawal from France is also recommended by the

[1] The *avvisi* prove the general opinion of Queen Anne's good intentions, "Oct. 28, 711. . . . The King [Louis XIV] has stated that two Englishmen had come to ask him for the King of England's proposals which have been found acceptable in England. The preliminary articles appear to be that Philip V shall remain King of Spain and the Indies, and the King of England shall be King of Scotland and Ireland." We find the statement repeated in several letters,

English Jacobites, and one of the French Ministers writes to Gaultier : "I have seen what Mongoulin's friends propose. I do not know if they have reflected that Berne is full of Whigs and that he would probably be less safe there than in any other part of Europe." 1712

The Duke of Marlborough gave the same advice, saying, in one of his conferences with Tunstal, an agent of Lord Middleton's, "that a Protestant state should be chosen, and that to go to the Pope's dominions would be fatal." Marlborough also recommended the urging of the question of the Queen's jointure at the coming congress, "which cannot be refused, it being formerly conceded at Poncy [peace of Ryswick] and only diverted by the unworthiness of him who then ruled the roast." [William III] "He declared, nay, solemnly swore, that the recall or the Prince appeared to him certain to take place." Middleton's answer, while it shows his distrust of Marlborough, shows also how high the tide of hope had risen at St. Germains—"As for your *lawyer* [Marlborough] he is gone, and before you meet again we shall see clearer. . . . He might have been great and good, but God hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he can only now pretend to the humble merit of a post-boy, who brings good news to which he has not contributed." Stuart Papers, Macpherson

So certain of success did the Prince's prospects appear that the Dauphin paid a visit to St. Germains to congratulate Mary Beatrice and her son upon the happy turn of affairs. It was his last visit ; the young Dauphiness was attacked by malignant fever on the 6th February and died on the 11th, her husband following her to the grave six days later. Writing of the double tragedy to the Superior at Chaillot the Queen says :—

> "After the King of France no one has lost more than we in every way. We must adore God's judgments which are always just, however incomprehensible. . . .
>
> I beg you, my dear Mother, to send me by the bearer the packet I left with you, and my Will. I should like to put everything in order before death comes, for we see him strike every day where we least expect it. . . ."

1712

"Cardinal Gualterio to Lord Middleton.

"Rome, 5 *March* 1712.

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,297, f. 59

". . . I greatly hope for the conclusion of peace, so desirable on every account. It is said on many sides that the Kingdom of Sicily might be allotted to His Majesty until it should please God to restore him to his hereditary throne. I should be infinitely pleased, for though the kingdom is small, it is a good and a beautiful one.[1] I am in deep affliction at the loss of the Dauphiness, which has been rendered still greater by the fatal news which has come from Turin of the death of the Dauphin. . . . I cannot think without dismay of the consequences of so terrible an event."

Before the meeting of the Treaty of Utrecht, James Stuart issued a protest to "all kings, princes and potentates" against all that might be done to his prejudice and to that of his legitimate successors. "Given at St. Germains the 25 April, 1712, in the eleventh year of our reign.—J. R."

Some of the wealthy English Jacobites were preparing their gifts, and there is a letter from the Queen about this time to old Lady Petre, thanking her for the offer of £1,000 for the King's service at a time that he stands in very great need of it. . . ."

The lawyers also were busy preparing the Queen's demand for the payment of her pension, which it was believed the Treaty of Utrecht would decree, and drawing up a power of attorney.

Nairne Papers, viii. No. 55

". . . The difficulty consists in this," writes Dicconson, the Queen's treasurer, to Mr. Berry, a lawyer in London, "how to avoid owning ye Government, in what she signs herself, and yet not to offend it; to compass these two points and yet make the instrument valid is ye matter you are desired to advise with some judicious Counsel about. Should the Queen stile herself Queen Mother, she supposes that will not be allowed; should she stile herself Queen Dowager that would be a lessening of herself, and a prejudice to the King, her son, which she will never do.

The question is, whether ye Instrument may not be good without any title at all, only ye word *We* (for inasmuch as it will be signed *Maria R.* and sealed with her seal, one would think ye Person would

[1] The Kingdom of Sicily was allotted to the Duke of Savoy by the Treaty of Utrecht.

Coronation Medal, Mary of Modena ..... J. Roettier.
James III and Princess Louise Marie ..... N. Roettier.
Medal Room, British Museum.

be sufficiently denoted). Our Councel here think she might stile herself thus: *Mary Queen Consort of James II, late King of England*, etc. . . . Send your result as soon as you can, yt Her Majesty may not have to seek in so material a point when ye time comes of using it. . . . " 1712

Before the answer came the waters of affliction had closed over the head of the Queen, and she had become, in Madame de Maintenon's words, "a model of desolation." Her son sickened with small-pox on the 3rd of April, the Princess caught it on the 11th, and expired on the morning of the 18th in the twenty-first year of her age. Her body was taken to the English Benedictines in the night of April 20, and the royal virgin heart was laid beside the hearts of Henrietta Maria and of James in the quiet stillness of the Tribune of the Chaillot chapel. As had been the case with her father, a portion of the entrails were deposited in the Church of St. Germains, where they still remain.

"Queen Mary Beatrice to the Duke of Modena.

"St Germains, 21 *April* 1712.

"The depth of affliction I am in at the death of my daughter, the danger of losing my son, . . . and a fever which confines me to my bed, do not permit me to write to you with my own hand. I have lost one of the chief consolations left to me . . . a daughter I loved and who deserved all my tenderness; I hope God will give me strength to support this sorrow. . . . "

"Queen Mary Beatrice to Pope Clement XI.

"St Germains, 26 *April*, 1712.

"Before my son was out of danger from the small-pox, my daughter was seized with the same malady and was suddenly taken from me on the eighth day, but not without previous signs of the most perfect resignation. This blow is all the more cruel, that I lose the dearest companion who would have consoled me for the absence of my son, made necessary by the present conjuncture of affairs. He has not yet been told of this most grievous loss, as it is feared a sudden shock might occasion a relapse. In the midst of so many afflictions with which it has pleased God to visit me, I implore the compassion of Your Holiness and the help of your prayers. . . . " Vatican Archives

1712 Gualterio, writing to Lord Middleton, fears the effect upon the Queen of the Princess's death :—"Misfortune persecutes us, and I confess to your Lordship that for some time past I never open letters from France without a feeling of terror."

The Queen's first letter to Chaillot after her daughter's death was written to the Superior on her re-election. It is dated 19 May, 1712.

> ". . . What shall I say to you of the dear daughter whom God gave me, and whom He took away :—nothing but that because it was His doing I must be silent, nor open my lips but to praise His holy Name. He is the Master of the mother and of the children ; He took one and left the other, I cannot doubt but He did what was best for them both, and for me also, if I knew how to profit by it, but alas ! . . . I do not act as I speak. . . . Pray for the living and for the dead. I believe the latter are in a condition to hear our prayers in the sight of God, for from the dispositions in which He placed my dear daughter at the beginning of her illness. . . . I have every reason to hope that she enjoys, or will soon enjoy with our holy king the happiness of Heaven, and that they will obtain for me the grace to rejoin them when, and where, and how it shall please the Master of all things. . . . "

At a later period the Queen dictated to the nuns the following account of the Princess's words during her illness :—

Chaillot Journal

> "Madam, you see the happiest person in the world ; I have just made my general confession ; it seems to me I have made it as well as possible, and that if I were to be told at once that I must die, I could not do differently than I have done. I have abandoned myself entirely to the hands of God ; I do not ask to live, but only that His will may be accomplished in me." The Queen replied :—"My daughter, I cannot say the same. . . . I pray God to preserve your life that you may the better love and serve Him. . . . " "If I desire to live, Madam, it is only for that reason, and because I think I may be of some comfort to you."

The last words probably referred to the coming departure of her brother, whose expulsion from France was to be one of the English primary conditions of peace, and which had caused the Princess such bitter weeping when she had heard the first

news of the negotiations. Utrecht was decided upon for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries, and Gualterio, writing to the Queen on the threatened consequence to her son, says :— 1712

"... As for the King, Your Majesty takes him, so to speak, out of your own arms, to place him in those of divine Providence. ... Little by little God is separating Your Majesty from all earthly things to make you entirely His. It is the fruit of your many prayers, of so many good works, and also of the intercession of the holy King. Your present solitude will be filled by him. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20.294, f. 157

"I regret that I cannot have the privilege of personally serving and assisting Your Majesty in this tribulation, and I assure you that if it were permitted I would willingly leave all things to enjoy that honour. But wherever I may be, I entreat Your Majesty to deign to look upon me as the most submissive and the truest of your servants, the one most desirous of obeying and serving you. ..."

From this time forward a touch, almost of awe, seems to enter into the love and respect felt for Mary Beatrice by those who knew her, as of one set apart for suffering. The Princess des Ursins writing from Madrid to the Princess of Vaudemont of the English Queen's virtues and afflictions, says :—"She will some day be a great saint," and the great preacher, Bourdaloue, said of her :—"I know no one so holy or more worthy of veneration. Since I heard her I strike my breast, and say to myself,—that Queen will judge us some day."

The Queen, who had lost her great friend Françoise Angélique Priolo in the spring, the only person, she once wrote, in whom, except Father Ruga, she had entire confidence, made her first visit to Chaillot after her daughter's death, in July. "She went to the Tribune, where prayers were said for the King and the Princess. . . Afterwards Her Majesty admitted the Duchess of Lauzun . . . and spoke of the death and virtues of the Dauphin whose life, by Father Martineau, she commended. . . . The Queen told us how, at Marly, the King, Madame de Maintenon and she had shed many tears to see that they, the old, were left, and that death had taken the young—the Dauphin, the Dauphiness and the Princess of England." Chaillot Journal

1712 On this occasion the beautiful brocade which James had sent from Lyons to his sister, was given to make a vestment for the Chaillot chapel.

At her next visit, August 18, the Queen spoke of the Jesuits :—"Although she had always liked the Society, she had never been blind to the faults of individuals ; the late King, her lord, had submitted her to a strange trial (*un étrange exercise*) in giving himself up to the advice of Father Petre, admitting him to his Council, and trying to make him a Cardinal ; the man had no love for her, and she had suffered greatly by him, but the imprudence and bad conduct of one man must not fall upon a whole company. . . .

"The Queen smiled at the extravagance of the Dutch Gazette which said the 'Pretender' had received the Pope's permission to turn Protestant for a season."

The next remark of Mary Beatrice betrays a fear which it is probable had often haunted her. "The only consolation she had in the Princess of England's death was the thought of her safety ; God's designs upon her had been full of mercy. . . . The present English Government would have accepted her more willingly than the King ; they would have married her to some Protestant prince of their own choice, and she might have had to endure great combats . . , Indeed it was true that the Princess, with her engaging air, and agreeable and caressing manners, pleased better than did the King, her brother, who was too cold ; Mylord Perth had often told him, when he was a boy, that he ought to obtain by study, the affability which his sister had by nature."

The question of finding an asylum for the doubly exiled prince was settled by the hearty consent of the Duke of Lorraine—whose wife, it will be remembered, was a daughter of the Duke of Orleans and a great favourite of Mary Beatrice —to receive him into his states and to give him the Castle at Bar-le-Duc as a residence. The French Envoy d'Audiffrey reports to Louis XIV that the Duke "esteems himself happy to have the occasion of being agreeable to Your Majesty. . . .

that the King of England may not only live at Bar, but in other towns of his dominions. . . . Nothing need be feared at Bar from small bodies of Your Majesty's enemies, as there are 200 men of his Regiment of Guards, and the upper town is well enclosed, but he feared it would not be safe against larger detachments . . . and for this reason, it might be better to choose Nancy. I answered, according to Your Majesty's commands that this would be provided for by the assurances obtained from the Princes still engaged in the League. . ." [1] 1172 Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 326

The parting between the Queen and her son took place in the Tribune at Chaillot.

"*September* 6.

"The King came here wearing a scarlet coat; it was the eve of his departure. He did not appear moved, but had a composed and deliberate air. . . . At five o'clock the Duke of Lauzun arrived. The King took tea with the Queen, and they embraced with many tears in the Queen's room, whence they went to the Tribune, and separated there. Her Majesty wept bitterly at the King's leaving, and he was moved, but with no sign of weakness, recommending our Mother and the Sisters to think of consoling the Queen. Then he went to Chalons and afterwards to Bar." Chaillot Journal

DUKE OF BERWICK TO JAMES III AT CHALONS.

"ST GERMAINS, 23 *October*, 1712.

". . . I was yesterday at Versailles but could not discourse with M. de Torcy for he was gone a-hunting with M. de Tallard. . . . I do really believe that they mean well for your interests . . . but they are so afraid of its being known before the conclusion of the peace, that they are unwilling to trust anybody with their secret; . . . at the same time it is certain that both Your Majesty's affairs and their safety would run great hazard if the Princess of Denmark should unfortunately tripp of, before your restauration were secured. . . . I can say no more until I discourse with M. de Torcy, and shall then settle with him the time of my going to make my Court to Your Majesty: if there be nothing that presses, I would willingly stay till the Duchess of Berwick be brought a bed, which I reckon will be in the beginning of November. . . .

[1] The *avviso* of Sept. 6 says:—"The King of England no longer has a guard, and is only spoken of as the Duke of Gloucester."

1712 I found the Queen in good health and Your Majesty may be sure that I shall never be wanting in doing all that lyes in my power to obey her commands."

DUKE OF PERTH TO CARDINAL GUALTERIO.

"ST GERMAINS, 20 *Nov.* 1712.

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,296, f. 13 ". . . His Majesty is still at Chalons and will be there until peace is concluded, otherwise he would not be safe at Bar-le-Duc. His English friends press him to go for a time into a protestant country; but that he will not do, as he does not wish to give ground for supposing that he is capable of changing his religion. . . ."

The letter next gives important news :—

"I doubt not but Your Eminence has heard that Mylord Churchill, whom our enemies call the Duke of Marlborough, is about to leave England with his famous wife who has so long and so cruelly oppressed the Princess of Denmark with a prodigious tyranny. The rumour of what Parliament was going to do against him so frightened him that he gave a large sum of money to the Princess and disclosed a conspiracy of which he had been invited to be the head, to bring the young Duke of Hanover to England, when the Princess would have been dethroned and the Ministers hanged.

The Queen's dowry will be granted to her, but not so long as the King her son remains in France. . . "

The Queen, if she could have had her wish would have remained permanently at Chaillot, or would have entered the Visitation Convent at Moulins :—

Chaillot Journal "I was told not to think of it. . . . I did not content myself with the advice of Father Gaillard and Father Ruga, I consulted Madame de Maintenon and the Duke of Berwick; all were of opinion that in the present state of my son's affairs, who is not yet settled in life, I should not retire altogether from the world. . . I wrote to my son about it, and this is what he answered :—'It is not for me, Madam, to exhort Your Majesty, I should be very impertinent to have that temerity, but you know what St. Augustine says :—non pervenitur ad summam pacem etiam in silentio nisi cum magno strepitu pugnaverit cum motibus suis!"

One or two interesting remarks of the Queen are registered during this visit to Chaillot; speaking of the death of

Charles II at 7.30 in the morning :—"The King went publicly to Mass at eight o'clock, which surprised the Protestants who then appeared to like him all the better for it, saying he was a straight and generous man who wished to deceive nobody." 1712

On another occasion being asked by one of the nuns if there was any ground for the reported inclination of Queen Catherine of Braganza for Lord Feversham :—"None," said the Queen. "Then how did the rumour arise, Madam? Malice and calumny never dared attack your Majesty. . . ." "You are too young to know." "Forgive me, Madam, private persons know very well what is said of princes, and an old poet remarks that their faults are written in the public archives. . . ." During her recreation she spoke of her aunt, her father's sister, who became a Carmelite. "I have received a letter from her," said the Queen. "She writes with admirable humility as if she were the last person in the world. I am ashamed not to have written to her for so long ; we used to dispute as to which of us would be a nun, I was fifteen and she was thirty when the marriage with the Duke of York was spoken of, and we said secretly to each other :—'You will be chosen' ; but the lot fell to me ; it was thought that youth was a defect which time would cure, but the thirty years of my aunt were an evil which would go on increasing. . . ."

On the subject of her marriage, the Queen said more than once that the King's attachments had given her intolerable pain ; and that she had said to him with regard to a certain person :—"Give her my dowry, make her Queen of England, but never let me see her again." The Queen spoke as if she had committed a great fault. While the Queen was here she always spoke well of the Princess of Denmark, saying that for all her prosperity she was not happy.

No better sign of the inclinations of Queen Anne and her ministers gladdened the exiled Court, than the appointment of the Duke of Hamilton[1]—the main pillar of James's cause in

[1] James Douglas, fourth Duke of Hamilton, killed 15 November, 1712.

1712 Scotland—as Ambassador to France. Hamilton had written a cyphered letter in June, saying that all was going excellently, and that he had been offered the embassy to Vienna, but would not accept before he had James III's opinion thereon. On the 5th of December, the Duc de Lauzun arrived at Chaillot with bad news for the Queen. Hamilton had been slain in a duel with Lord Mohun, not without suspicion of foul play on the part of the latter's second, General Macartney. It was generally believed that Hamilton was to have brought secret powers to treat for James's adoption as her successor by Queen Anne, provided she were left in possession during her life-time.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE LORD TREASURER.

"PARIS, 29 *December* 1712.

Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 340

"... Another obstacle is that the Chevalier must be out of France at the signing of the Peace, and the Emperor will not let him have passeports sufficient to secure his stay in Lorraine. The Monarch [Louis XIV] is a good deal troubled upon this head lest (as M. de Torcy expressed it) the young Man should fall into the hands of the Hussars or Barbarians, and M. d'Aumont has, I presume, orders to speak to our Minister upon it.

"As to the Dowry, I shall not only be dunned to death, but hanged, for the Dowager sends messengers to me, which you in England do not think it extremely lawfull to receive. But if it is to be paid, pray let it be done in the handsome manner that may show the charity of the Queen and the generosity of her Lord Treasurer [Harley] M. de Torcy thought I should have orders concerning it, and so, I am otherwise told, did the Monarch. ..."

The spirit of intrigue and jealousy which never ceased to exist among the different sections of the Jacobites now fastened upon Lord Middleton, against whom vague charges were made of betraying secrets and of faithlessness in his master's service. There is an indignant letter from Abbé Innes, the rector of the Scotch College on the subject, in which he speaks of Middleton as the only person capable of giving advice to the Prince.

Lord Middleton offered his resignation, which James had

the good sense not to accept, and the Queen wrote to her faithful servant :— 1713

"St. Germains, 28 *January*.

"I have not had the heart all this time to write to you upon this dismall subject of your leaving the King, but i am sure you are just enough to believe that it has, and dos give me a great deal of trouble, and that which i see it gives the King increases mine ; . . . . but alas, i am grown so insignificant, and so useless to my friends, that all i can do is to pray for them ; . . . I own to you that as weary as i am of the world, i am not yet so dead to it, as not to feel the usage the King and i meet with ;[1] his troubles are more sensible to me than my own, and if all fell upon me, and his affairs went well, and he were easy, i think i could be so to . . . You told me in one of your former letters, that you were charmed with the King's being a good son, what do you think then i must be, that am the poor old doating mother of him. I do assure you his kyndnesse to me is all my support under God ; . . . i am also charmed with him for beeing a good master, and a trew friend to those that deserve it from him, though i am sorry from my heart, that you have so much cause of late to make experience of it. . " Carte MSS. Bodleian Library

James Stuart was still at Chalons, and in a letter to some lady unknown, Mary Beatrice writes in January 1713 saying she has been ill but is now better, and that she writes such long letters to her son, that she has little time for other correspondence :—

"The tenderness with which you speak or my dear children, of him whom God has left me as well of her whom He has taken from me, charms me and shows me the tenderness you have for me. . . . I cannot express the obligations we owe M. de Lorraine, who alone asked and obtained the passports from the Emperor for my son's safety. . . .[2] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 18,783, Art. 57, f. 172

I could wish the King my son were able to thank him in person, but I do not yet know how far he will be able to go ; I expect news to-morrow as to when he will leave Chalons ; as for me I am waiting

[1] In one of her conversations at Chaillot the Queen remarked :—"We are Kings and Queens of comedy—or rather of tragedy."

[2] Joseph I had died in April 1711, and was succeeded by his brother the Archduke Charles, under the title of Charles VI. It was hoped he would prove more friendly to the Stuart cause than his two predecessors.

1713 impatiently for the end of the winter to be able to go to Chaillot where my heart rests better, near the dear hearts which are there, than anywhere else. . . . "

Before leaving Chalons on the arrival of the Emperor's long-deferred passports, James wrote a graceful letter of farewell to Louis XIV, thanking him for the asylum he had granted him in France, almost from his birth, and for providing him with another "more suitable to the situation or your affairs and of mine." He asks for the continual protection of the King "for the Queen my mother, the only person left to me of all who were dearest to me, and who deserves everything from me, as the best of mothers. . . ."

He wrote at the same time to Madame de Maintenon, who replied in the following letter, which is interesting by the careful respect of its terms towards a man who owed his recognition as King in great measure to her influence over Louis XIV :

"SIRE,

La Beaumel, Amsterdam, 1756, vol. 5, p. 262

"Your Majesty will have no difficulty in believing that I could not write to you, since I have not done so; for the last eight or ten days I have been in a state of weakness which prevents me from going to St. Germains: it gives me great pain not to be able to redouble my attentions to the Queen, at a time when she is deprived of all consolations; Your Majesty nevertheless gave her a great one by the letter you wrote to the King, which certainly is above all that can be said of it, far from needing to be seconded: I wish with all my heart it were made public; it would augment the zeal and esteem felt for Your Majesty. The one with which you honoured me overcomes me with pleasure; I venture to say that I deserve the continuance of your favour by the ardent and sincere attachment I have for her whom you hold most dear, and for Your Majesty. The day will come when we shall see you re-established, and then the misfortunes of your youth will become your happiness and your glory.

"I am, with the profound respect I owe you. . . . "

Clement XI had given the red hat to Cardinal Polignac on James III's recommendation, an act which caused the Queen great pleasure, and must partly have consoled her for the Pope's

continued unwillingness to make Cardinal Gualterio, known for his friendship for France, protector of the English at Rome.[1] She writes to Gualterio "the justice the Pope has done to the King, my son, and to the merit of Cardinal Polignac gives me sensible pleasure . . . . as at last it shows to the whole world that he is not wanting in consideration towards him [her son] . . . . It gratifies me to think that I may soon thank you in person as you lead me to hope I may see you in May . . . . with all my heart I trust nothing may hinder your journey." 1713

When Abbé Gaultier returned to Paris after the peace, the Duke of Berwick pressed for the fulfilment of Harley's (Earl of Oxford's) promises:—"He put us off . . . . finally I proposed that King James should go secretly to his sister, and that she should present him to Parliament as her heir and successor, and he would make all the promises respecting religion, &c." This soldier-like solution met with no response:—"It became morally certain that all the advances Oxford had made, had no other motive than his own interest by joining the Jacobites with the Tories to strengthen his party in Parliament. His object achieved, he thought of nothing but playing into the hands of the Court of Hanover." Memoirs of Duke of Berwick

"Queen Mary Beatrice to Superior at Chaillot.

"St. Germains, 20 *March* (*Lent*) 1713.

". . . . . I am very glad Sister M. Gabriel liked the tea, but assuredly the poor present did not deserve so beautiful and eloquent a letter. . . . My son, the King continues well at Bar, where the Duke of Lorraine overwhelms him with kindness. I recommend him earnestly to your prayers. . . . He has great need of patience, courage, prudence, above all that God may strengthen him in his faith, and give him grace never to succumb to the temptations he has, and will have from his visible and invisible foes. . . . Pray also for our great King, I hope God will long preserve him to enjoy the

[1] He had accepted the rich Abbey of St. Remy at Rheims, and had placed the arms of France over the door of his palace at Rome. Clement XI, like his predecessors, seems to have been doubtful of the advantage to the Stuart cause of the preponderating influence of France.

1713 benefits of the peace, ... which we are led to hope will be signed in March, I hope so with all my heart, more for others than for myself, though in time my son may also profit by it. . . "

In a letter from the Queen to Pope Clement XI in favour of the beatification of Cardinal Bellarmine she says :—

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 88, f. 156

" . . . . Apart from the general motives I have for interesting myself with the whole Church in the matter, my particular reasons are that Italy, my country, gave birth to so great a man. . . and also that James I held him in singular esteem, to the point of declaring in a letter he wrote to him that he had found more solid doctrine in a short chapter of his, than in whole volumes written by the Protestant ministers. . . . finally the asylum he offered with special charity and generosity to Catholics from Great Britain, who, flying from persecution, took refuge in Rome: . . . "

At the beginning of May, 1713, the Queen went to Chaillot, where she received letters from her son, telling of a visit to the Duke and Duchess of Lorraine at Luneville. "The Duke went to meet him," says the Chaillot Journal, "receiving him perfectly, and the Duchess wept with tenderness when she embraced him, . . . Luneville is a fine town well situated, and some of the apartments are as fine as Versailles; he had hunted with the Duke, and had given his gold snuff-box to the Duchess, receiving her lapis one in return; in the evening there had been country dances after the fashion of Lorraine; as the Duchess did not dance, the old ladies of the Court dared not do so, though they greatly wished it, which the King perceiving, he took the Duchess and danced with her, which gave the old ladies courage, who danced with great enjoyment. . . ."

Mary Beatrice, who had before complained of the sadness of dining alone in public at St. Germains, an irksome duty she escaped at Chaillot, told the nuns during this visit that "since the departure of the King she had no one to whom she could open her heart, which was a hard privation; but in losing the persons to whom one could open one's heart, one lost many occasions of offending God, and that when we could spend a

few days without speaking on unpleasant topics, our emotion seemed to pass away. . . . June.—In the evening the Queen told us the King had insisted upon her having her portrait painted; he had begged her to do so before he left St. Germains, she had consented and had arranged it should be done at Chaillot by the same painter who had taken the King's portrait and whose name was Gobert. . . ."[1] 1713

The cabals against the Earl of Middleton had succeeded, and in June James Stuart wrote to the Duke of Lorraine that My-lord Middleton had long pressed him to allow him to retire from office, and he had at last consented, giving him at the same time "public marks of my particular consideration for his long services, great merit and inviolable fidelity. To this end, the Queen gives him the charge of first Lord in waiting, and I, that of gentleman of the bed-chamber to his son Lord Clermont. Sir Thomas Higgons, whom Your Royal Highness saw at Luneville, will replace Lord Middleton. . . ." Imp. Archives, Vienna

Queen Mary Beatrice to Princess Vaudemont.

(The Queen begins by thanking her for the reception she and the Prince of Vaudemont had accorded her son at Commercy) ". . . . He tells me you are both very amiable, very polite and very sincere, and that the last quality charms him more than all the others, and I cannot help wounding your modesty by telling you that he calls you the most amiable saint in the world. . . Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 18,738 Art. 58, f. 175

I am delighted to hear that your health is good; mine is not bad, but I am extraordinarily thin. . . . All the good you tell me of the King my son is a sensible pleasure to me, for I think you like me too well to flatter me. . . . I admire God's providence for that dear son, who, obliged to leave France and wander over the world (*courir le monde*) has found in Lorraine, Princes full of goodness and friendship, who give him a safe and agreeable asylum, doing for him what his nearest relations will not (I mean the P^cess his sister), and the others can no longer do for him. . . . I cannot close without asking you to kiss my dear Chevalier for me, your age and your virtue give you that privilege, and I embrace you with all my heart as the best of my friends. . . . ."

[1] No trace can be found of this portrait. See Appendix C.

1713 Meanwhile, the Queen had received, on Ascension Day, May 1713, the printed papers of the Treaty of Utrecht. After reading them she placed the voluminous packet on the chimney-shelf, and a few days later asked the nuns if they had looked at them. No one had had the courage to do so :—"'Then I will have courage for you,' said the Queen and taking up her spectacles, began to read aloud . . . at the fourth and fifth articles which declare that in order to secure the peace and repose of Europe and of England, the King [Louis XIV] recognises, for himself and his successors, the protestant line of Hanover according to the acts of Parliament, and promises that he who has taken the title of King of Great Britain shall no longer stay in France, that he will give him no help by land or sea . . . the Queen heaved a sigh at the words 'he who has taken,' and said 'the King of France knows if my son's title is just or unjust . . . but I am sure the King is more sorry about it than we are . . . hard necessity knows no law, the King of France cannot do otherwise, and England would have made peace on no other terms. God will care for us. . . .'"

Chaillot Journal

The Journal tells of the Queen's joy at hearing of Cardinal Gualterio's approaching visit to France, of the regular letters from her son, from Bar and Luneville, of visits from the Duke and Duchess of Berwick and many great personages of the French Court, including Madame de Maintenon, and of a peace-making episode with her faithful old friend and servant the Duc de Lauzun. The Queen had heard he would not go to his house at Passy, as some of his relations had made alterations there against his will, so she asks him if she goes there will he go also? He protests he would go *au canon et au feu* for Her Majesty. "I do not ask as much as that, only to receive me at Passy." He promised, and at her recreation the Queen said: "the very thought of such an excursion in my present state frightens me, and my presence can only give pain to my friends, but I must make an effort to restore peace and union in a family." "In the evening Cardinal Gualterio arrived, and with him came Lady Middleton's sons [Lord Clermont and

Mr. Middleton] who had spent five years in prison in England." 1713

When Cardinal de Polignac came to pay his respects to Mary Beatrice on his promotion at James Stuart's recommendation, the nuns made him put on his train before going in to the Queen, "which made Her Majesty laugh heartily."

Many instances are given of her self-denying economy and her regret at refusing an alms, "as she only had two rings left—one the little ruby of her marriage, and the other the large ruby of her coronation. 'As to the small diamond of my marriage, I am sending it to the King, my son, with some of my daughter's hair, which he has asked for; were it not already promised I would give it.' . . ."

During Cardinal Gualterio's stay in Paris he received a curious letter dated Saumur, 29 July, 1713, from Fraser of Lovat, Lord Lovat's brother. It is endorsed in pencil "*interessantissimo*, from the brother of the famous Lovat, the traitor of Culloden."

". . . . I have solicited the Courts of Versailles and St Germains for five years to allow me to go back to my own country; my brother prevented my returning without the consent of those two Courts. . . . Lord Perth's letters declare that my King and the Queen never wished to hinder me from going home; on the contrary their Majesties desired it. . . . This has determined me to go at once, in order that our house may not become extinct through the barbarous persecution my brother has suffered for ten years from his enemies at the Court of St Germains, and which he is resolved to suffer rather than abandon the interests of France and of the King. . . . Madame de la Rochemillay having advised my brother that the Queen is still irritated against him. . . . I dare not have the boldness to importune you at a time when the Queen is perhaps reproaching Your Eminence for having had the charity to protect us. . . But I cannot go away without assuring you that the gratitude of the house of Lovat will last as long as there is a Fraser alive . . . and I take the liberty of imploring Your Eminence for the love of God not to abandon my brother, as he only came to and stayed in France under your auspices . . . I declare before God, Who will judge Kings and Queens as well as us, that my brother and I have had no more com- Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,310, f. 74

1713 merce with our King's enemies than with the Turk, and that neither of us has received a single letter, nor any other thing from the present Government of England or Scotland for the nine years we have been in France; Your Eminence may judge by that how much the Queen and the King are mistaken on our account. God grant that the injustice that Princess continues to do us may not bring the malediction of heaven upon her and her son. . . . I beg you, Sir, to assure the King and the Queen that in spite of our suffering, I am leaving with the firm resolution to risk my life and the heads of my clan . . . whenever a good opportunity presents itself . . . . and those and their despicable family who have ruined us with their Majesties may have cause to repent it. . . ."

Lord Lovat escaped from Saumur before the end of the year, and arrived in London, where he and his cousin, Fraser of Castle Leathers, who had contrived his evasion, were arrested in Soho Square; he was subsequently bailed for £5,000 by Lord Sutherland, Forbes of Culloden, and others.

In July the Queen and the nuns were much diverted by the visit of a Quaker "who had his hat removed by a footman," says the Journal, "as his principles did not allow him to call anyone master or mistress. 'Art thou the Queen?' 'Yes.' 'Then I have come to tell thee thy son will soon return to England. I am going to Bar to announce it to him.' 'How do you know . . . . and when will it be?' asked the Queen. To that the Quaker would give no answer, contenting himself with saying if he had not been sure he would not have gone to the expense of a journey to Bar."

The Quaker went on to Bar, "and when the Queen was laughing over his stories, some one observed that a person like that, who would be shut up as a madman here, might do the King some injury. 'Oh, as to that,' said the Queen, 'the King has no fear, besides, those poor people are quite harmless and they greatly loved the late King. . . . All kinds of religions are tolerated in England, and the late King used to say that they had one bond of negative union which consisted in not submitting to the Pope; with that exception, everything was welcome in England. The King, my lord, was firmly persuaded

that no man should be forced in matters of religion; that was not believed in England where he was thought to be in league with the King of France to do with regard to religion what was being done in France, when the King drove out all the Huguenots; they took refuge in Holland and in England, and made us odious there; as the King my son was born about that time, everything conspired against us. . . . . I was accused of many things of which I never thought, and they are still mistaken in me, attributing crimes to me of which I am assuredly incapable—a supposititious child and perjuries; on the other hand those who love me credit me with virtues I do not possess, but God will be my judge.'" On the subject of religion, some one expressing the hope that it might triumph with the return of the King to the throne :—"If my son were restored," answered the Queen, "there would be no change of religion, all that would be done would be to stop the persecution of the Catholics; prudence would forbid any innovations." 1713

The Journal goes on to relate the excellent news from Lorraine, how the Duke and Duchess have sent word to the Duchess of Orléans of their love and esteem for the King, to his mother's great delight. Then comes a certain Wednesday when the Marquis de Torcy arrives with a message for the Queen. "In leaving her presence he said her virtue was admirable, but her sorrows were very great; according to all appearances her son would be restored, but not yet. When the Queen supped, it was noticed that contrary to her usual habit she was very sad and much moved. . . . . Some one had the boldness to ask if M. de Torcy had brought bad news. 'He told me nothing fresh, I knew it. God be praised for all. His will be done.'" On Friday, seeing the Gazette in the confessor's hand, "You will see there," said the Queen, "that the two houses of Parliament have begged the Princess of Denmark to ask the Duke of Lorraine to send the Pretender (as they call the King) out of his dominions, and that she answered she had already done so, and would do so again. . . . I confess the

1713 news troubled me so much at first, that I determined to keep it to myself. 'Why afflict these poor women?' I thought, but now it is in the Gazette, I can no longer conceal it."

On Saturday the Duke of Berwick came to see the Queen, and told her that during the debate in the lower House . . . . an old member of eighty had said :—"Have a care what you do. I was very young in Cromwell's time, when they persisted in hunting Charles Stuart, as they called him, from country to country; they made him change so often, that at last they brought him here. You may do as much again." In the evening the Queen heard from the King that he had seen the Quaker, who had told him :—"I am not so great a prophet as Daniel, but I am as true a one." "The King had been much diverted . . . . and had given him some medals. The King dislikes prophets and drawers of horoscopes . . . . in which he follows the Queen, who hates them cordially. Her Majesty once said she could not suffer those kind of extravagances, any more than revelations and ecstasies, and as Madame Molza was telling her of an Italian lady who often fell into a prolonged ecstasy, adding that the Duchess of Modena delighted in seeing her :—'It is true,' replied the Queen, 'my mother loved extraordinary things, but as for me, I cannot suffer them, and would always fly from them.'"

Chaillot Journal

A few days later we find a prayer of the Queen's recorded :—"Lord, give me the grace to drink the chalice Thou has prepared for me, to the dregs."

Duke of Lorraine to Queen Anne.

"Luneville, 26 *November* 1713.

"Madam, We could not be more surprised at the addresses of the British Parliament last summer than with the remonstrances of Your Majesty's Minister at Utrecht, with relation to the removal of the Chevalier de St. George from the dominions of Lorraine.

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 14,854, f. 54

Before we could absolutely comply with the request of the Most Christian King in that affair, the profound respect we have for Your Majesty, and the tender regard for your quiet, made us apprehensive of giving the least uneasiness to Your Majesty.

But when we were assured that this expedient would be highly agreeable to all sides . . . proud also of so great an honour, we could no longer refrain opening our arms to receive a Prince, the most accomplished and most virtuous, and the most amiable of the Human Race, who only wants to be seen to be admired, and known to be almost adored. . . . 1713

We therefore hope Your Majesty and the British Nation will not take it in ill part that we cannot comply with a demand so inconsistent with our Honour and the laws of Hospitality, after our protection once given to abandon to the Rage of his Enemies an innocent and depressed Prince who knows no Crime but of being born the last male heir to that illustrious family, which for severall ages has given so many great monarchs to the world, and amongst the rest Your Majesty, whose conspicuous virtues and great actions have reflected as much lustre as you have received from your illustrious progenitors. . . ."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

"ST GERMAINS, 4 *December* 1713.

"I cannot sufficiently thank you for your letter on the illness it pleased God to send me two months ago, and on the restored health He has vouchsafed me. You let it concern you too much and esteem it at more than its worth, for I am now only a poor old woman (*una povera vecchia*) useless to the few friends left to me, and far from the only person I would be near, and whose condition continually afflicts me; the hope of seeing it improve being the only thing which makes life endurable to me.

I also see from your letter that our cousin poor Prince Cesare is dead. I pray God for the repose of his soul, and I learn with much satisfaction that he has made your second son his heir, it being only right that those possessions should remain in the family, to whom with all my heart I wish every happiness."

The above letter was not without its dignified rebuke. Rinaldo, who had been her piteous client when she was in a position to help him, who had pursued his own ends without any scruple as to how he might embroil his niece with her only powerful friend, Louis XIV, and who still withheld a part of her inheritance, had now completely espoused the cause of her enemies. "The Queen said," we read in the Chaillot Journal,

1713 "she had written to the Princess of Brunswick [Rinaldo's mother-in-law, and since his wife's death the guardian of his daughters] to thank her for her kindness to a daughter of Countess Molza, who had returned to Italy, telling her she well perceived the Princess had a regard for her which the Duke of Modena had not."

The Queen had returned to the Court of St. Germains to find it almost deserted, all the Jacobites who were in a position to do so having returned home in consequence of the peace:

Chaillot Journal

"but that does not relieve me, for the town is full of Irish who are poverty itself; 20,000 came into France, and of those only 6,000 effectives are left, the rest have perished in the wars, but their wives and children remain on our hands; as soon as it became known that my dowry was to be paid other Irish prepared to come to France, but I told Mr Dicconson to notify to them that those who came would receive nothing."

To feed this multitude the Queen gave all she had, and exercised a more and more rigid economy in all her personal expenses. "Though it is not true," she once said in reply to a remonstrance from the nuns, "as Madame de Lauzun in her usual exaggerated style said to the King, 'Sire, she has no shoes to her feet,' although," she continued laughing, "care is taken to sew new ribbons on these fine shoes," showing them as she spoke, "they cost ten francs; I think it is too much, but they will not sell them to me for less."

Before returning to Italy, Cardinal Gualterio visited James Stuart at Bar, and when he came to give the Queen news of her son, "The Queen laughed and cried together on seeing him again, as he was her intimate friend, and she had thought she would never see him again."

The negotiations at Utrecht were not yet concluded, and there were difficulties as to the wording of the articles concerning the Queen's dowry. "At the peace of Ryswick," says a memorial sent to de Torcy, "King William declared . . . he would see to it that the stipulations in favour of the Queen were executed in good faith, but he received the £50,000

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

voted by Parliament and never remitted them to the Queen, 1713
nor to the French Minister commissioned to receive them."

"Reasons which prevent the Queen from signing the papers sent from England. 1st. If the Queen recognises the Princess of Denmark as Queen of England, she will renew the popular calumny that the King is a supposititious prince, and will furnish an argument to the Whig writers which they will employ with the people to throw suspicion on his birth." Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

The question of arrears and as to whether the Electress of Hanover would continue the pension (reduced to £47,000) in case of Queen Anne's death having been touched upon, the paper concludes:—"The Queen therefore hopes the Most Christian King will have the goodness to obtain assurances from the English Ministers to accord the first promise, without obliging the Queen to such hard conditions, and to which she can never consent."[1]

Although it has been said that Queen Anne signed the warrant for payment of a first instalment at the end of 1713, the most careful search at the Public Record Office has failed to find any trace of payment on account of the jointure. Applications continued to be made throughout the following year without result, and Oxford on his impeachment in 1717 denied having advised Queen Anne to sign the warrant. In later years, when Mary Beatrice's grandsons, Charles Edward, and Henry, attempted to recover the arrears of the jointure, it was expressly stated that the Queen had never received anything on account. Calendar, Stuart Papers, vol. i. p. lvii.

[1] The Stuart Papers contain a letter from the "Duke of Berwick to James III," written in 1714, on this subject:—". . . I brought yesterday from Versailles two papers sent out of England for the Queen to sign, which are of a nature that she cannot possibly consent to it . . . 'tis very odd that after eleaven months' delay such a come of should be thought on; the money was promised to the King of France without these strange conditions. . . ."

CHAPTER XV

1713 The Chaillot Journal ends with the year 1713, and with a short account of "the manner of life of the Queen. She took a cup of broth at eight or half-past eight, rose, and after half an hour's prayer, she would write three or four times a week and eat a piece of bread while opening or sealing her letters; she then dressed and heard two Masses . . . if there were no visitors and no business, after a visit to the tribune, and in summer to the Chapel of the Angels, she dined. Being told that Lady Middleton had said with some emotion, 'The Queen prays too much; if the King of France knew it, he would take the Queen from you,' she laughed and said, 'I do not think the King troubles himself about my prayers. . . . My ladies like St. Germains so they speak according to their taste and inclination . . . at St. Germains, as soon as I have supped, I have to write for three or four hours, and here I write in the morning which rests my eyes; I spend the rest of my day there listening to the complaints of the unfortunate, that is all my society; at least here I have good company after my meals; I assure you,' added the Queen obligingly, 'if I can take any pleasure in life, it is here. . . .' When Miss Plowden is here, the Queen makes her say the prayers, when she is not, the Queen, however tired and weary she may be, says all her prayers. The Psalms in Latin, the litanies of the Saints and of the B. Virgin Mary, the Imitation of Christ, and the sermons of Bourdaloue, Massillon and others are the Queen's accustomed reading."

With the exception of Lord Middleton, the suite and household, some sixty in all, James Stuart had taken to Bar consisted almost entirely of Protestants, for whom, being freed from the restrictions of the French laws, he was able to appoint a chaplain, the celebrated non-juror Lesley. This fact, and the retirement of Middleton, gave rise to a report that he had abandoned his religion. The Queen writes to one of her Chaillot friends :— 1714

"St. Germains, 26 *January*, 1714.

"Here is the extract from the letter of the King my son I promised you, and which will serve to confirm the good opinion you had of his faith, and of his religion, of which I think all the current reports did not cause you to doubt ; for my part, I assure you I had not a moment's anxiety, nevertheless I was delighted to see these lines written by his own hand, and which I am sure are graven on his heart. I wrote to that dear son that I fell on my knees after reading them, and thanked God with all my heart for His mercy in giving us both the like sentiments, to him the will rather to die, and to me, rather to see him dead than out of the Church. . . ."

"Extract from a letter of the King, my son, written to me in English, 30 December 1713. 'I doubt not but that the positive and circumstantial reports which are prevalent of my change of religion will have reached you, but you know me too well to be alarmed by them, and I can assure you that by the grace of God, you will sooner see me dead than out of the Church.'"

A few days after writing the above letter the Queen fell seriously ill, to the great alarm of her son, who writes to Mr. Dicconson :—

"Bar, 13 *February* 1714.

"Though yours of the 10th has filled me with trouble and anxiety I cannot but take it very kindly of you to tell me the naked truth, which I beg you always to do on all occasions. I hope God in His mercy will long preserve the Queen, but you did very well to get her to sign the papers you mention. . . I desire you to say to the Queen all that is dutyfull and kind from me, who am almost without life in the apprehension I am in for hers. . . . I depend entirely on your care and prudence for all that can conduce to the Queen's comfort Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

1714 and interest. She is, I am sure, more to be envied than pitied. . . but those she leaves want support and comfort to a great degree.

J. R."

SAME TO SAME.

"15 *February.*

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

". . . . Nothing ought to comfort me so much as what you tell me of the good dispositions she is in, which I easily believed, but the desire of death frightened me very much knowing how much in health she used to apprehend it. . . . I cannot but admire her great tranquillity in giving you her directions as to her papers, and though I hope in God all those precautions will prove unnecessary I here send you my directions, not to be produced but after the fatal strook, which I hope God in His mercy will deliver us from."

"James R. Whenever it shall please God to call our dearest mother the Queen to Himself (which I hope will not be for many many years) our intention is and we do hereby authorise and order you to take into your custody all and everything that belonged to her, and that all papers of any kind without being opened, perused or examined, be putt up under the seals, and in the presence of the Dukes of Berwick and Perth and the Earl of Middleton, or any of them, the whole to remain in your custody till our further order. At Bar-le-Duc, Feb. 15. 1714.

J. R.

For Mr. Dicconson, treasurer to the Queen."

"20 *February*, 1714.

"I have nothing to say by this post but to give you my hearty thanks for all your care and diligence about the Queen during her sicknesse, which I think I may now see her over—God Almighty be praised for it. I write to her to-night myself, and shall continue to do so, counting her now able to read my letters. Pray take care she doth not begin to answer them too soon. . . . "

Imp. Archives, Vienna

Not content with the attempt, so gallantly resisted by his host, to drive James Stuart out of Lorraine, Parliament was debating, writes Hoffmann, 20 April, 1714, on the proclamation to be issued against him. "The words, 'alive or dead,' to be struck out, but a reward to whoever shall bring him to justice. . . ." Hoffmann thinks the Queen will be against it.

Ten days later Queen Anne wrote with her own hand to the

Duke of Lorraine, addressing him as "*Mon Frère*," and asking him to remove to a greater distance "the person who pretends to a right to my crown." The Queen thinks she would fail in the regard Providence allows her to have for her own safety, and in the vigilant care she must exercise for the quiet of her good subjects, if she did not urgently pray the Duke to put an end to this cause of jealousy by removing "to a greater distance from my kingdoms the person who openly declares he has a right to them; so that . . . he may have fewer communications with evil-disposed persons." 1714 Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 346

The letter ends with assurances of esteem, and that the writer can "expect nothing less than your acquiescence in so reasonable a demand. . . . If you refuse, I shall consider such a determination as incompatible with the friendship which has hitherto subsisted between us. . . ."

Queen Anne's conduct at this time was as that of a sick woman, terrified at the thought of approaching death, nervously repelling every sign which could remind her of it, and trying to delude herself into the belief that she had many years of life and reign before her. Grown so corpulent and unwieldy that, as Mary Beatrice told the Chaillot nuns, she had to be hoisted into her chariot with the aid of machinery, and was obliged to apologise to the Duc d'Aumont, the newly appointed French Ambassador, for her inability to rise from her chair to receive him, oppressed with many infirmities, the nearness of the end was apparent to everyone except herself. She was as unwilling to admit the presence of her parliamentary heir, as she was eager to drive her natural heir further and further from her, and a few weeks after the above letter was written the Electress Sophia was found sitting dead in her chair in the garden of Herrenhausen, with a letter from Queen Anne in her hand, which was supposed to have brought on a seizure of apoplexy, and which contained the Queen's peremptory, almost threatening refusal to consent to the suggestion that it might be well for Prince George to go to England to be formally accepted as her future successor.

1714 HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

3 *July*, 1714.

Imp. Archives, Vienna

". . . . The Proclamation was really resolved upon by the Privy Council last night, and will be made public either to-night or to-morrow. The sum of money to be given to whoever seizes the Prince of Wales on his landing or attempting to land, and bringing him to justice is £5000 sterling, following the example of King James who put the same amount on the Duke of Monmouth's head. . . . "

SAME TO SAME.

"10 *July*.

"The two Houses *nemine contradicente* have voted an address to the Queen thanking her for the proclamation. The City of London is preparing one also, an example which will probably be followed by other towns and corporations."

A few days later Queen Anne was dead, and George I had succeeded to the Crown, not without a burst of indignation from the people. "Down with the Roundheads, no Hanover, St. George for England!" was the cry of the populace who needed but a leader to prevent the foreigner from landing; halters were thrown into Harley's carriage as he went to receive the new monarch, and had James been in London with a bodyguard of a hundred men, his chance of re-establishment would have been a good one. But he had neither money nor men; the moment the news of Anne's death reached him he hastened in disguise to Paris, resolved, says the Duke of Berwick, to cross over to England to assert his rights.

Matthew Prior sends the news to George I, writing in French, so as to be understood by the King of England :—

"PARIS, $\frac{13}{23}$ *August* 1714.

Pub. Rec. Office, France, No 341

". . . . I can assure Your Majesty for certain that the Pretender came here by post *incognito* accompanied by only two persons, he made his presence known to the King by a message from the Queen Dowager through Madame de Maintenon. The King would not see him, he sent M. de Torcy to him at the village near by, where he stayed, to tell him His Majesty found his conduct very extraordinary,

that he could not and would not violate his engagements nor plunge Europe into a fresh war, and that he [James Stuart] had better leave again immediately. . . . . that if the step he had taken became known, it would be prejudicial to the King and his subjects, without benefitting him in any way. The Chevalier retired immediately upon receiving this message. . . . " 1714

The village above mentioned was Chaillot, where the faithful Lauzun had taken a house in his own name for the Chevalier. The Queen had thus the happiness of embracing her son after two years' separation, and was perhaps little surprised at Louis XIV's answer. Worn out with years, with disastrous wars and domestic sorrows, and with an empty exchequer, the King of France was in no mood for a new and hazardous enterprise.

Queen Anne's Ministers, Harley, Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormonde, had been disgraced, and a Whig Ministry with Townshend at its head had succeeded them. Bolingbroke and Ormonde offered their services to Mary Beatrice and her son, the former informing the Queen that he did not act out of personal devotion to the Chevalier, but out of obedience to his party, which he would have obeyed had it ordered him to Constantinople.

HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

" 27 *November* 1714.

". . . . Last Saturday . . . the French post brought a proclamation from the Chevalier of St. George, in plain envelopes, addressed to the assembled royal Ministers, which Townshend had translated into French, and gave openly the same night to the King as he left the Chapel. Several hundred persons have read it, so it is made no secret of, but is treated as a trivial matter, not worth noticing. The most remarkable sentence in it is that in which he speaks of the late Queen as, 'the Princess, his sister.'—'Whose good intentions towards us, which of late were not to be doubted, were the reason we took no measures, out of respect for her good affection, but which unfortunately her deplorable death prevented her from giving proof of.' thus attempting to make it clear that the Queen, as well as her Ministers, intended to re-establish him. It is dated Plombières, Imp. Archives, Vienna

1714 29th August, and is very well expressed, and doubtless has been sent to others besides the Ministers. . . . It is not yet known if the Court will continue to ignore it . . . . or will answer it by a counter proclamation. . . . Anger falls meanwhile on the Duke of Lorraine."

"30 *November.*

". . . . The King has refused to receive the newly-arrived envoy of Lorraine [Marquis Lamberty] who will probably soon go away. . . . "

Cardinal Gualterio, writing to the Queen from Rome, 1 January, 1715, to send her a small sum of money from the Pope, says it is "all I can for the moment extract from His Holiness for the King's service, . . . nevertheless it was granted with so much grace and goodwill that it deserves the royal thanks. . . . I had an audience of the Holy Father this morning, and upon what the Duke of Perth had written to me of the lack of powder for the royal forces in Scotland, and the other wants of those faithful people, I insisted with all my strength upon obtaining a further sum for that purpose . . . but I fear His Holiness is resolved to wait for tidings of the arrival of the King in Scotland . . . and of some success there, upon which he would not fail to make fresh efforts to assist him. . . . Here it is held for certain that the King has arrived in Scotland, . . . and that he immediately called a Parliament. I ardently hope the next letters from France may give me the consolation of hearing this happy news confirmed."

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,294, f. 257

A French Almanach for the year 1715 had meanwhile awakened the anger of the English Court, and Lord Stair, English Minister in Paris, writes to Secretary Stanhope, 12 February, 1715 :—

Pub. Rec. Office, No. 349

". . . I spoke to him [de Torcy] of the Almanach. . . . He appeared to be prepared upon this article. The Almanach, says he, there's a pretty ground of complaint indeed! I told him . . . that book was of greater consequence than the Almanachs elsewhere . . . that everybody knows it is printed by permission of the King after having been examined . . . that it could not be by inadvertency that the author takes out the Queen's name . . . putts the Pretender in

her place, and leaves the King Elector of Hanover, without saying anything more upon the subject. . . . I had almost forgott to tell you that in two or three places of our discourse, he magnified extremely the obligation we ow'd to France for not having sent the Pretender among us at the Queen's death, and that it appear'd by that, that the King his master was '*de bonne foy*' and wished for peace. . . ." 1715

Fresh elements of hope, invariably ending in disappointment, perpetually buoyed up the Stuart cause. The King of Sweden, Charles XII, had reason to be displeased with the attitude of the English Court, and the Jacobites immediately addressed themselves to Count Gyllemborg, Swedish envoy in London, who reports to Baron von Müllern, Plenipotentiary of Charles XII, that these malcontents have approached him to learn in what way they could show their good will to his master :—"They expect his Majesty may find himself constrained to attack the House of Hanover. . . . A good number of those who were among the most zealous defenders of Hanover begin to wish for the young man from Lorraine. The most distinguished among them . . . have consulted me in all confidence. . . . They have also told me they were disposed to provide a considerable sum of money to facilitate His Majesty's journey, in case he felt moved to give proofs of friendship to the young man above-mentioned. . . . Your Excellency will be good enough to examine whether I should enter further into relations with these men of quality, and what confidence I must accord them. . . ." Royal Archives, Stockholm

The project was stifled for the moment by Von Müllern's uncompromising reply :—"*M. le Résident* did well to acquaint me with the affair treated of in his letter of February 15 ; and I leave him to judge of the pernicious consequences such a proposition might entail, if it were acceded to. . . ." *Ibid.*

The state of popular feeling in London was made manifest on St. George's Day, an interesting account of the proceedings in London existing in the Vienna Archives, addressed to a Mr. Johnson, merchant in Paris, and which the Chevalier forwarded to the Duke of Lorraine :

1715 "Last Saturday, St George's Day was strictly observed, the whole city was illuminated with great bonfires . . . but none so noted as that upon Snow Hill, where about 10,000 Mobb . . . proceeded to the choyce of a Speaker who commanded a health to the glorious memory of Queen Anne . . . then the condid [conduit] presently ran with Wine and the health with a triple Hussa, that being ended the Speaker commanded all to kneel downe . . . and commanded a health to King James III which was begun with a triple Hussa, that being ended, the Speaker commanded a health to mount King George for his home, which was immediately don. . . . Then the burning of the Picture of King William and his last speach, which was Don, then Oliver Cromwell and lastly King George, which were all thrown into the fire and burnt; this solemnly being ended, the Speaker commanded to drink a health to the family of Stuarts . . . then to separate and break all the windows in town that were not illuminated . . . which was immediately don with greate fury, but noe house was so terribly mould [mawled] as the Lord Mayor's because he was a known Whig; these tumults of the people are extremely increased at the accidental fall of three houses whereby almost all the people were kill'd and by a most dreadfull fire which happened yesterday at White Chapell, . . . and by the Dismall totall eclipse of the Sun upon St George's Eve, all which the people look upon as judgments for keeping the lawfull heire out of the throne, so that were he alone in England, noe man would dare to touch him. . . ."

Nothing lay nearer the Queen's heart than the question, now seriously agitated, of a marriage for her son. The Emperor Charles VI, to whom the exaltation of the House of Hanover was not altogether pleasing, and who did not share his father's dislike for the Stuarts, seems to have entertained the possibility of a marriage between James and one of his sisters, his daughter not being of a marriageable age.

The efforts of Mary Beatrice with the French Court did not relax, the news from England and Bolingbroke's arrival in Paris in March were fresh incentives of good augury in James's favour, and she contemplated going to Bar (under pretence of a visit to Plombières to drink the waters), to see her son and treat of his marriage and other affairs; but sickness again laid

The Prince of Wales.
James II. Mary Beatrice.
Princess Louise Marie.

British Museum

her low, and the Duke of Berwick writing from St. Germains 1715
29 April, 1715, says :—

"The Queen, thank God, is free of her feever and I make no doubt but with the continuation of Quinquine will not have it any more, but I do not think it possible for her soon to be in a condition for travelling. . . ." Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

Princess Clementina Sobieska had been suggested as a bride for James Stuart in case the negotiations with Austria fell through, and James, writing to the Duke of Berwick, suggests that Bolingbroke, who is so much for his marrying, should go to Blois

"a fine pleasant country, and where he may have occasion to see pretty Miss, and of even negotiating that affair if t'other fails, as I believe it will—after what I acquainted the Queen some days ago. But this is only a thought, of which you will consider with the Queen. . . . I cannot but approve extreamly all you have agreed with him [Bolingbroke] and hope soon a solid plan may be made in which I think no time should be lost, no more than in Sably's [Bolingbroke's] coming here. . . . If we saw one another I am sure we should part very well satisfied with one another.

J. R."

The Queen, travelling in a litter, reached Meaux on June 15, and the following Saturday arrived at Commercy. "You may judge of the joy and consolation of the King, says a circular letter from Chaillot to the nuns at Annecy,[1] at possessing for a time this august princess, who is no less pleased at being re-united to a son for whom she feels all imaginable tenderness . . . The Queen contemplates returning in the month of August . . ."

Lord Stair was naturally anxious to know what was going on at Bar, and reported to the English Court, 24 July : "I sent Barton to Lorraine to be informed of the Pretender's motions. I met the Abbé du Bois[2] in a wood, and gave him an account of the intelligence I had concerning the Pretender. I desired he would be particularly careful in informing himself of the

[1] The Visitation nuns had a large convent at Annecy.
[2] Afterwards Archbishop of Paris.

1715 Pretender's designs, and how far the Court meddled with him. I set a man to observe Lord Bolingbroke."

The intelligence Mary Beatrice had brought her son, the pressing appeals from Scotland, and the renewal of negotiations with Sweden resulted in James Stuart's writing the following urgent letter to Bolingbroke :

"Bar, 18 *July*, 1715.

"I have ordered Mr Innes to give you an account of a message I have just received from our great friend on t'other side.—You will see the necessity of losing no time. So I shall part the 28th, to be the 30th at Dieppe, where I desire you will be by the same time, that we may embark together.

This messenger knows not of your having been here, so I addressed him to Mr Innes to whom I shall refer you, but could not but write however these few lines to one who after having given himself to me in adversity will, I hope, before it be long enjoy with me the sweet of better days. . . ."

Bolingbroke's gift of himself had not been as complete as James imagined. The order to meet his new master at Dieppe and embark with him was met by a long letter, in which he thinks it his duty "to point out to Your Majesty the mischiefs and the causes of them under which your service labours . . . . I soon found a general expectation gone abroad that Your Majesty was to undertake somewhat immediately, and I was not a little concerned to hear in two or three places and among women over their tea that arms were provided and shipps got ready ; but I confess I was struck with concern when I knew in such a manner as is to be depended upon . . . . that the factor of Laurence in this country [Lord Stair] knew of the little armament, and had sent advice of it home, that the Court of Maryland [England] was in the resolution of conniving till the enterprise should be gone upon, and made no doubt of crushing the whole at once . . . .

It is evident that in Margaret's country [England] things are not ripe . . . . that the secret is divulged . . . . and lastly that Harry [King of France] has not yet spoke clearly whether he will not . . . . give a private assistance now, and perhaps a

public one hereafter . . . . As I have nothing before my eyes but a true zeal for your service, so, Sir, I hope you will please to accept my faithful endeavor . . . ." 1715

How little the Queen approved of delay may be seen in the following letter to Dicconson, dated from Bar early in August :

". . . I am sorry to find that the paper you carryed made so little impression, and that I am sure was not the fault of the paper, for it contained very good sense and reason against delay not to be answered. I cannot beleev either that this shynesse and all these delays proceed from any ill will, I therefore must conclude that the great triumvirate [Berwick, Ormonde and Bolingbroke] have a mind to engrosse all to themselves, and I suppose they beleeve they can do it better than anybody else, as I beleeve myself, provided they would hear others and take advice when it is good. . . . Without it be perishing in the attempt, I know nothing so bad as all these uncertainties, that cause endless delays which will at last (and I fear very soon) make the game desperat ; Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library

The relation of St Germains misery makes me sad, and what M. Desmarets[1] said to you is most uncomfortable. I will writt to Mme. de Maintenon to speak to him, I wish you may find the effect of it before you come away, and I pray God give us all more patience. . . ."

August 20th Bolingbroke wrote to the French Minister, de Talon, to thank him for having had a spy of Lord Stair's arrested at Havre, and asking for 2,000 men, "for the want of so small a succour shall we lose so good an occasion ?" The whole letter is an impassioned appeal for "the tenth part of the money, the troops, which the States-General, in a very delicate conjuncture for themselves furnished to the Prince of Orange against his [James's] father . . . . If we undertake nothing, or if we fail you will inevitably have war, and the Whigs will not fail to seize the first occasion for dealing a blow at France . . . . What a misfortune if we found ourselves obliged to act before being assured of money and of troops. On the last point I shall see Baron de Spaar [Swedish Minister at Paris] again, although I have no doubt he has sent the express Affaires Étrangères

[1] French Comptroller of Finance.

1715 according to the promise he made me last week. As to the first, I beseech you '*à mains jointes*' to press Prince Cellamare [Spanish Ambassador] so that we may get a favourable answer from Madrid . . . ."

There is also a characteristic note from the Duke of Berwick to de Torcy, August 24, saying he has received a letter from the Duke of Marlborough "in which he expresses the hope that he may enjoy the protection of M. le Chevalier, accompanying these professions with a second present of £2,000. This gives me great hope, considering the character of my uncle, who is not wont to scatter his money thus, unless he foresees that it will prove of some utility . . . ."

Two days later, Louis XIV was seized with his last illness, which Bolingbroke announces in a hasty message to James: "though he is not yet dead his death is equally sure . . . . All centres now in Overbury [Duke of Orleans], for God's sake let me know whether I shall not, or rather perhaps Charles [Duke of Berwick?] ask to see him and perhaps speak to him in your name, he is left Regent, ye Duke de Maine Tutor, and Villeroy, Governor [of the Infant Louis XV].

"I have writt a letter which I hope will meet ye Queen on ye road."

Mary Beatrice reached Paris a few days before the death of Louis XIV. Her friend to the last, he had yielded to her entreaties, had written with his dying hand to his grandson, the King of Spain, urging him to render all the assistance he could to his adopted son, as he called James Stuart, and had given orders for the armament of 10,000 men, and for ships to take them to the north of England or to Scotland.

Lemontey, "Histoire de la Régence"

"He had told the Queen several times," writes the Duke of Berwick, "that he knew, at his advanced age, he must soon expect to die; and thus he prepared himself for it, day by day, that he might not be taken by surprise. They had a very different opinion of him in the world, for they imagined he would not suffer anyone to speak to him of death. I know to a certainty that what I have stated is true, having had it

from the mouth of the Queen herself, a princess of strict veracity." 1715

After Louis XIV's death, Madame de Maintenon was shunned as carefully as she had been assiduously courted during that monarch's lifetime—shunned by all except the Queen, who continued to treat her exactly as she had done before, thereby endangering her own position with the Court of France.

A letter from a Chaillot nun describes the first meeting of the two ladies, which took place in that convent : "The Queen of England gave her [Madame de Maintenon] on this occasion a great mark of esteem and of the friendship with which she has always honoured her . . . . Her Majesty came to see her a few days after the King's death . . . . and stretched out her arms to her the moment she perceived her, embracing her tenderly, while they both melted into tears. Mme. de Maintenon related to the Queen some of the marks of piety the King had shown during his illness . . . . When the Queen left, she exclaimed aloud to our Mother (who was awaiting her at the door) how greatly she had been edified by Mme. de Maintenon's words, admiring the holy dispositions in which she had found her . . . ."

At Mary Beatrice's first interview with the Regent Orleans, he promised that the pension to her and her son should be continued, giving her at the same time, writes James to the Duke of Lorraine, "all possible expressions of friendship and civility . . . . Meanwhile the change of Government in France necessarily suspends my resolutions with regard to England . . . . However strong my inclination may be to the contrary, I must submit to reason . . . ." Imp. Archives, Vienna

The misfortune of Louis XIV's death was followed by the failure of Charles XII to keep his promise of landing 12,000 troops in Scotland, owing to his own investment in Stralsund. The Queen, who had caused the Duke of Berwick to write and urge the fulfilment of the promise, had to acquaint her son with this fresh stroke of ill-fortune. Bolingbroke, who was now

1715 James's Secretary of State, writes to him : "I enclose to Your Majesty two letters from Stralsund with great reluctance, since you will find by them that all our hopes of troops are vanished. I received them from the Queen, whose packet accompanies this, and who intends to send Your Majesty's servants down to you." At the same time the King of Spain informed the Queen that he was unable to send a large sum of money, which he had promised in aid of James's enterprise.[1]

Meanwhile the Royal Standard had been raised at Braemar by the Earl of Mar on the 6th September, followed ten days later by the taking of Perth by John Hay, brother of the Earl of Kinnoul, while a formidable rising took place simultaneously in Northumberland, headed by the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster.

Up to this point the sincerity of Bolingbroke's zeal for the Stuarts scarcely admits of a doubt. He had told the French envoy, Herville, at Queen Anne's death "that in six weeks he could have made matters safe," and he wrote to Swift Aug. 3, 1714. "Oxford was removed on Saturday, the Queen died on Sunday. What a world this is! And how does fortune banter us!"

Mackintosh Collection

Had Louis XIV lived a few months longer, had the Kings of Spain and Sweden been able to fulfil their promises to furnish money and men, the extent and the depth of Jacobite feeling in England might have warranted an armed attempt to upset the Hanoverian Government, and restore the Stuarts. According to Bolingbroke's own account, he thought the English people were inclining daily towards Jacobitism ; but the triple disappointment from France, Spain, and Sweden hardly needed the further blow of Ormonde's impeachment and consequent flight to France—thereby crushing all hopes of his influence in England—to convince a man of Bolingbroke's intelligence and capacity of the futility of a rising. From this moment his zeal relaxed, to degenerate ultimately into infidel-

[1] "Spain cooled very much towards the Pretender after the King's death," says St. Simon.

ity and dishonesty to the cause he had embraced, and of which his brilliant qualities and genius for public affairs might have made him the illustrious champion. 1715

In a remarkable letter to the Earl of Mar, this feeling of disappointment and discouragement is made manifest.

"20th *September* 1715.

". . . I have not been idle, and if the French King had lived, we should have obtained some assistance directly, much more indirectly, and a great many facilities by connivance, though even this was thought unattainable when I first came to Paris; but the case is altered, he is dead, and the Regent is in quite other dispositions.

The prospect of opposition to his regency made him enter into engagements with Hanover, and the prospect of opposition to his seizing the crown in case of the young king's death, makes him adhere to those engagements.

I now most heartily wish the King had gone away two months ago with the few armes and little money which he then had. But your Lordship knows what instructions Charles Kinnaird brought. . . . I know you will do our Master justice on this head; his friends in Scotland were ready, but his friends in England desired besides succours of several kinds a longer time to prepare . . . much against his inclination he was prevail'd upon to defer his embarkation, which is now grown difficult beyond expression. . . .

Sir George Byng is come into the road of Havre, and has demanded by name the ships on which are some arms and stores. The Regent has indeed not thought fit to give them up, but he has sent down orders to unload them, and has promised that they shall not go out. After this I leave you to judge how easy it will be for the King to get off with the Regent's knowledge, and how safe for him without it. We are taking, however, measures to find a passage for him, and how hazardous soever the attempt may be, nothing but impossibility will stop him.

We hear you are in arms, and you easily judge this motive sufficient to carry us to all that men can do. But we do not yet know, which is a most uncomfortable consideration, what our friends in England will resolve to do, now Hanover has an army, more money, the Habeas Corpus Act suspended and a friend at the head of this Government. . . .

I cannot conclude this letter without summing up the present state

1715 of the King's affairs, according to the light I see them in, . . . for I write to a man of sense, a man of honour, and a friend. Instead of having a ship furnished by France . . . the whole coast from Scotland to Spain is against us, and unless the King steals off unknown, which to me appears almost impossible considering the extent of country he must traverse and the vigilance which is used in every part of France, he will either be seized or betrayed. The Troops we hoped for from Sweden are refused . . . the money expected from Spain is, in my opinion, still in the clouds. . . . In a word every resource has failed us, and every accident which we could apprehend has fallen out. . . .

I must therefore be of opinion that a more fatall conjuncture can never happen, and that the attempt can probably end in nothing but the ruin of our cause for ever, of which you may observe the Whiggs are sensible, that they precipitate their violent measures in order to oblige us to come to a decision at this time. . . .

But if our Friends are not in a condition to wait without submitting and giving up the cause entirely and for ever, desperate as I think the attempt is it must be made; and dying for dying, it is better to dye warm and att once of a feavour than to pine away with a consumption."

This deterrent letter arrived too late to be of any effect, and meanwhile Bolingbroke continued his efforts with the French Court. The Duke of Ormonde was preparing to pass into England to provoke a rising in the West, and Bolingbroke writes to James, Paris, Oct. 20, 1715.

"Paris, *Oct.* 20, 1715.

". . . I have already acquainted the Queen with what has passed between M. d'Essiat and myself, and I shall from time to time inform her of the steps I take, and the good or bad success I meet in treating with the Ministers of this Court. . . . I am really hopeful . . . so far as to have the French coast to a certain degree open to us, whereas according to the track things were going in, the ports of France would have been as much closed to us as those of Holland. . . ."

"*October* 21*st.*

". . . The storm grumbles in the West, but is not yet begun, and Hanover takes what measures he can to prevent it. I will press the Duke of Ormonde's departure for Wensday and the moment he sets

out a courrier shall be despatched to Your Majesty. . . . Let the Duke have a reasonable time before you, otherwise you must come upon the English coast and go enquiring from place to place where you may land; which is a project that will not bear two thoughts, and must give a chance of fifty to one that you are taken. 1715

Stair has some jealousy that you or the Duke of Ormonde and myselfe are in motion, or all three. He has people on most of the roads, and two are this morning gone towards Rouen. . . . I cannot penetrate that he has any jealousy of Your Majesty's way of going off.

I will do my utmost by several little expedients I have thought of to perplex him and put him on a wrong scent. . . ."[1]

James Stuart started from Bar on his perilous adventure, the 28th October, leaving with his secretary, Nairne, letters addressed to the Queen, to be sent by successive posts as if he were still at Bar, departing "literally alone," writes Nairne. "The King gave Nairne a seald paquet of papers, backed in his own hand, with orders to deliver it to the Queen, with a little golden heart in a chagrin case, and a book, *La retraite Spirituelle*. . ."

The Queen again had recourse to the Pope, praying the Nuncio to represent in her name to the Holy Father that Her Majesty is informed the Bishops and Clergy of Spain are disposed to contribute to the restoration of the King, her son, and she entreats His Holiness to write himself to the King of Spain on the subject, to obtain his consent to a voluntary contribution from the prelates his subjects for so good a work; and at the same time to write to his Nuncio at Madrid or to Cardinal del Judice, ordering them to let those Bishops and Clergy know that they will accomplish an act meritorious in the sight of God and agreeable to His Holiness, by contributing all they can to the restoration of a Catholic King to his dominions.

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 86, f. 162

[1] The *Avviso* of Nov. 5, 1715, says:—"The Duke of Ormonde left ten days ago. The Earl of Stair gave the Duke's coachman a louis a day to know the day of his departure, but in spite of all his precautions he learned nothing until after he had embarked at St. Malo."

1715 HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

"19 *November* 1715.

Imp. Archives, Vienna

". . . . Lord Stair sends word that the Chevalier de St George is on his way through Normandy, and has passed through the town of Evreux; also that the Duke of Ormonde has sailed from that coast. . . ."

Dogged by Stair's spies, James, accompanied by William Erskine, brother of Lord Buchan, moved about Normandy, unable to reach Nantes, where Lord Walsh lay with a light well-armed vessel ready to convey him down the Loire; he suddenly determined to go to Paris to attend a council of his adherents at the house of his friend Baron de Breteuil and Preuilly, who had married the beautiful daughter of Lord O'Brian Clare. The following account of the events which ensued is taken from the memoirs of the Marquise de Crequi, corroborated by St. Simon, Duclos, Lemontey and others. The Chevalier seems to have made a great impression on the Marquise, then Mlle. de Froulay, a girl in her teens, who describes him as a "very handsome and accomplished prince." After the conference, James left the Hotel de Breteuil at break of day for Chaillot, where the Queen had come to meet him, and where the Duc de Lauzun had placed a small house at his disposal. He remained there twenty-four hours and then, having parted from the Queen, started, in the disguise of a French Abbé, in one of the Baron de Breteuil's post-carriages, and attended by a few horsemen in the Baron's livery, for Château Thierry on the way to the coast of Brittany. But there was an unexpected traitress in the house of Breteuil, Mlle. de Preuilly, who sent secret information to Lord Stair of the Chevalier's movements, and that he would change horses at Nonancourt, twenty leagues from Paris. The English Minister, misdoubting the Regent, who when appealed to on James's first departure from Bar to arrest him had replied: "If you can point out where he is, I will have him re-conducted to Lorraine, but I am not obliged to act as spy or gaoler for King

George," determined to take matters into his own hands, and 1715
waylay the prince by persons in his own employment. The scheme was frustrated by the cool courage of the post-mistress, Madame Lospital, who, overhearing three Englishmen discussing with some desperate characters of the neighbourhood a design upon a traveller who was to change horses at Nonancourt that night, took care to intoxicate her three guests, turned the key upon them, and ran to meet the traveller at the entrance to the village. Stopping the postillions and mounting on the step of the carriage, she whispered to the supposed Abbé :— "If you are the King of England, go not to the post-house ; several villains are waiting there to murder you." She further explained that she was the post-mistress, and offered to conduct him to the Curé's house, where he would be in safety while she went to summon M. d'Argenson, the nearest magistrate.

D'Argenson took the three men into custody ; two of them were English, and produced Lord Stair's passports, the third was a French Baron, well known as one of his spies. The leader, Colonel Douglas, a son of Sir William Douglas, an attaché at the Embassy, assumed a high tone, saying he and his companions were in the service of the British Minister. "No Minister would dare avow such actions," was the reply, and all three were committed to prison. Meanwhile, Mme. Lospital sent the Chevalier on, in a fresh disguise, in one of her own post-chaises to Nantes, where he found the vessel, and safely arrived at St. Malo. The Queen sent for the brave woman, gave her her portrait and thanked her, "and the Regent gave her nothing," says St. Simon. The Regent, for political reasons, thought it necessary to stifle the affair, and the depositions of the post-mistress and her servants were not made public. They are still in existence, and may be found in the appendix to Lemontey's *Histoire de la Régence*.[1]

The Chevalier wrote a spirited letter from St. Malo to

[1] See also letter of Marshal d'Uxelles to M. Iberville, French Minister at the Court of Sweden, 15 December 1715, and Dangeau notes in his Journal:—"The Duke of Orleans has set Mylord Stair's people at liberty, who were arrested at Nonancourt ; but he exhorted his lordship to be more circumspect in future. . ."

1715 announce his arrival, and the Queen's condition during this period of suspense is described in a letter from Lady Sophia Bulkeley to a nun at Chaillot.

"St Germains, 12 *November*.

". . . . The Queen looks ill, which is not surprising, considering the pain and trouble she is in, and in which she will remain until the King her son is re-established ; Her Majesty commands me to tell you . . . that the King my master has left Lorraine, but that is all she can say, except that affairs in Scotland are going well ; we believe the Earl of Mar to be at the head of 20,000 well disciplined men, firmly united for the good cause ; and that the Duke of Argyle has not more than 3,000 ; moreover four provinces in the north of England have declared for the king. . . ."

Same to Superior at Chaillot.

"28 *November*.

"The Queen is well, and received good news yesterday from Scotland, and from the north of England . . . her great and ardent faith sustains her, and makes me reproach myself every moment for my lack of faith, finding how often I tremble for the King's safety ; I am ashamed of myself when I see to what a degree the Queen's trust in God renders her tranquil, but I beg you not to reply to me on this head, as I pretend to be very courageous before the Queen."

It was again Lauzun's task to be the bearer of bad news, and to make known to the Queen the three disasters of the 13th November—the battle of Sheriff-muir, lost by the incapacity of Lord Mar, the capture of Inverness by Lord Lovat, and the rout and collapse of the Jacobites at Preston through the ignorance or treachery of Forster. Lovat, who had remained in London after his return from Saumur until the outbreak in Scotland, hastened to take part with the Government. "Lovat is the life and soul of the party here," wrote Mar some weeks later, "the whole country and his name doat on him ; all the Frasers have left us since his appearing in the country." Thus did Lovat fulfil the threat conveyed in his brother's letter to Cardinal Gualterio two years before, that the

Queen would suffer for having doubted his fidelity. His treachery probably caused Mary Beatrice little surprise. 1715

"The bad news from the north of England being confirmed," writes Lady Sophia Bulkeley to the Superior of Chaillot, December 5, the Queen orders me, dear Mother, to tell you that she cannot write as I had said she would . . . she does not doubt but you will redouble your good prayers for the safety of the King, her son, for his prosperity; as well as for the consolation of his faithful subjects. . . ."

Meanwhile, urgent representations had been made to Clement XI by Gualterio and by Cardinal Imperiali in favour of James Stuart. The harassed pontiff, timid by nature, with an exhausted exchequer, and determined, as he explained to Gualterio, not to increase the burdens on his subjects, taxed to the utmost with the struggle against the Turks and the disturbed state of Italy, and yet unable to refuse all help to a Catholic Prince actually fighting for his crown, took the unusual step of writing a letter in Italian to the Queen, in which, after telling her that from the moment he had heard of the courageous resolution of the King, her son, to place himself at the head of his faithful subjects he had not ceased to pray for his success, and to obtain many other prayers "far worthier to be heard than ours. . . . We have received Your Majesty's letter enclosing that of the King, urging us to assist him. . . . It is an inexpressible pain to us to find ourselves . . . owing to our well-known adversities, and to the calamities which threaten us from the enemies of the Christian name, deprived of the power of doing that which we should so greatly desire to do on so important an occasion. . . . We must content ourselves with doing what we can, though it be little in comparison to the King's necessities and to our own ardent wish to help him, and yet not little with regard to the circumstances, the time, and our own necessities which your Majesty will learn more fully from our Nuncio . . ." Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 15,398, f. 375

Cardinal Gualterio in a letter of the same date, 10 December, announcing that the Pope was sending the sum of 30,000 scudi

1715 at once, and an order on a banker for 80,000 frs. remarks :— "I must do His Holiness the justice to say that he required no pressing . . . and showed the utmost regret that his present difficulties will permit him to do no more. . . ."

Mary Beatrice had been some six weeks without news of her son when she sent, 27 December, her New Year's greeting to the Chaillot nuns through Lady Sophia Bulkeley :—" . . . The Queen commands me to wish you and the whole community a happy feast, and to tell you that she is well, thank God. . . . When she receives good news, she will not fail to send it you. . . . You must not believe the rumour you may hear that the Scotch wish to come to terms with the Duke of Hanover ; it is not true, although affairs in Scotland are not going so well as they did at first. . . . Although you know the great virtue of the Queen, you would be surprised, dear Mother, to see the firmness with which Her Majesty bears the events which have occurred since she came back to St. Germains ; let us thank God for all the graces he has granted the Queen, and let us pray for the preservation of one so dear to us. . . ."

It was not until the 12th January that news of her son's safe arrival in Scotland reached the Queen. James's letter to Bolingbroke is the only one which has been preserved of the three he wrote from

"PETERHEAD, *Dec.* 22, 1715.

"I am at last, thank God, in my own ancient kingdom as the bearer will tell you with all the particulars of my passage, and his own proposals of future service. I send the Queen the news I have gott, and send a line to the Regent *en attendant* that I send you from the army a letter for my friend Coulson (?) I am going to-morrow.

I find things in a prosperous way, and hope all will go well, if friends on your side do their part as I have done mine. My compliments to Magny (?) tell him the good news, I can't write to him, for I am weary, and won't delay the bearer.

J. R.

In the King's own hand, addressed to the Earl of Bullingbroke."

SAME TO SAME. 1716

"2 *January* 1716.

"All was in confusion before my arrival, and terms of accommodation pretty openly talked of. The Highlanders returned home, and but 4,000 men left at Perth. Had I retarded some days longer, I might have had a message not to come at all. My presence, indeed, has had, and will have, I hope, good effects. The affection of the people is beyond all expression. . . . We are too happy if we can maintain Perth this winter; that is a point of the last importance. We shall not leave it without blows. I send to the Queen, my mother, all the letters I mention here, that she may peruse them, and then agree with you the best way of forwarding them. . . ." Lord Mahon's Appendix, Stuart Papers

HOFFMANN TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

"28 *January* 1716.

"News from Scotland of the 21st instant say that the Chevalier de St George entered Dundee on the 17th, and was to be at Perth on the 19th, which he will make his capital . . . his party will not have encreased by more than 2000 men, as many of the Highlanders have taken to the hills, and the greater number are cut off from Mar's camp by the town and pass of Inverness which the Earl of Sutherland occupies with 3500 men. Imp. Archives, Vienna

The artillery sent from the Thames having got no farther than Harwich and being detained there by continued easterly winds, twelve pieces have been taken from the fort at Berwick and should arrive at Stirling to-day or to-morrow, upon which the royal forces will march upon Perth. Consequently in eight or ten days we shall know if the rebels can stand or not. . . ."

"31 *January*.

General Cadogan announces on the 23rd inst from the royal camp at Stirling, that the army will march on the 2nd or 3rd of February against Perth, with artillery . . . sufficient to reduce the place. . . ."

PENDTENRIEDER-ADELSHAUSEN, AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR IN PARIS, TO EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

"PARIS 11 *February* 1716.

"The Regent and several of the ministers perfectly understand the difficulty of the enterprise . . . but the hope of diverting the Whigs—whom they regard as the irreconcilable enemies of this crown—from other enterprises, and of limiting the growing power of *Ibid.*

1716 the house of Hanover causes them to help the Pretender under-hand, seeing that the exhausted resources and interior condition of the country do not allow them to help him openly and in an adequate fashion. . . . For some time past Baron de Spaar, the Swedish envoy, goes frequently and at unusual hours to the Regent . . . he has also been seen several times with persons from the Court of St Germains, which confirms Lord Stair in the belief that it is intended to strengthen the Pretender's party with some succour of troops from Sweden. . . . Lord Stair is also in considerable anxiety respecting the efforts made here to secure the Swiss Cantons. . . ."

LADY SOPHIA BULKELEY TO SUPERIOR AT CHAILLOT.

"16 *February* 1716.

". . . . The news from England this evening are that our enemies speak of giving us battle very soon, if they have not done so already ; as they are far more numerous than the King's forces, and are disciplined troops, we have much to fear. I tell you things frankly . . . but do not answer me, if you please, on this head, as the Queen reads all your letters. . . . Between you and me, the Queen has never been in such want of money as at present, her pension being eight months in arrear. . . ."

James had ordered the Duke of Berwick to accompany him to Scotland and take chief command of the army. If the Duke had not refused, on the plea that he was a naturalised French subject, unable to accept the post without the consent of the Regent, who expressly refused it, the substitution of one of the most accomplished commanders of his time, who, at the age of forty-four had made twenty-six campaigns, and was justly reputed a general of surpassing skill, prudence and foresight, to a man of Lord Mar's ignorance and incapacity might have resulted in success, despite the almost desperate character of the enterprise.[1]

Memoirs of Duke of Berwick

Berwick complains that the Regent gave them nothing but fair words, but "the king of Spain acted more frankly, and upon our representation sent 100,000 ducats in lingots of gold,

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

[1] The Duke wrote to Lord Mar :—"Feb 12 . . . I am still ready to part, whenever the Regent will allow me, but 'tis neither consisting with my honour, my duty, my oaths, nor even the King's interest, that I should desert like a trooper ; it was with the King's leave that I became a Frenchman. . . ."

which we despatched with my son [the Marquis of Tynemouth] 1716
Sir John Erskine and Mr. Bulkeley (son of Lady Sophia Bulkeley) ; but everything seemed to conspire for the ruin of our projects, the vessel was wrecked on the coast of Scotland, and they had only time to save themselves in the boat, without being able to take the lingots which were hidden in the hold of the ship . . . .

"Argyle marched from Stirling Feb. 9 with a heavy train of artillery and . . . arrived at Tullibardine, eight miles from Perth, on the 11th. The town was only fortified by a wall, and the river was frozen so hard that it could be crossed like the plain. This reason, and the inferiority of his troops, which were less than half the number of Argyle's, determined the King to quit Perth, and he retired to Dundee and then to Montrose. Erskine, who brought news to France of these movements, assured me positively the King meant to retire northwards and make a stand near Aberdeen, at an excellent post which 500 men could defend against 10,000, having the sea on the left, a mountain on the right, and a morass in front with a single causeway across it. But two days after Erskine's arrival we learned that on the approach of Argyle, the king had ordered his troops to march northwards, had embarked with the Earl of Mar and a few others, and had landed in France. He left the command to General Gordon, ordering him to make the best capitulation he could . . . Thus did the enterprise finish in a moment . . . Lord Mar persuaded the King that it was no longer possible to continue the contest ; that it would entirely ruin his party, and that, by retiring, he would give them the chance of coming to an accommodation. I am convinced that if a fault was committed, it arose solely from that young prince's too great deference to the advice of others . . . "

James came secretly to St. Germains where he remained several days, the last he ever spent with his mother, and then started for Chalons, there to await an answer from the Duke of Lorraine as to his return to Bar.

1716 EARL OF BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES STUART.

"*Tuesday 2 o'clock.*

"Tho I lament extreamly the fatal necessity Your Majesty was under, yet I most heartily congratulate your happy escape and safe arrival.

You are well and the cause cannot dye, but will in God's good time revive again. The Queen writes Your Majesty word what she thinks about your lying att Malmaison. I defer speaking of that or anything else till I have the honour of kissing your hand, and am ever, Sir

your dutiful obt. Subject and servant
BOLINGBROKE."

James went to Malmaison, but from there, unknown to his minister, and to the Duke of Berwick, and perhaps to the Queen, turned his steps to Neuilly and the Bois de Boulogne, where he spent several days concealed in the house of Mdlle. de Chausseraye, frequented by Mrs. Olive Trant and other noted Jacobite intriguers of both sexes, and where he held private consultations with the Spanish and Swedish ambassadors, and listened to complaints against Bolingbroke which resulted in his sending the Duke of Ormonde with a note dismissing him from his service. In a letter to the Regent, 6 March 1716, after regretting not to see him before his departure, and entreating his help for the poor Jacobites, he says :—"I feel it my duty to tell you that since my return from Scotland, a person in the confidence of my friends in England has arrived here, on whose report I have determined to take the seals from the Earl of Bolingbroke, in which I am acting I may say as much in your interests as in my own . . . I think it right to add that I have forbidden the Duke of Berwick to meddle with my affairs, having learned by long experience that it was not conducive to the good of my service that he should do so."

The Duke of Berwick probably attributed this injunction to the bitterness of disappointment and to a natural resentment at his refusal to accept the command in Scotland. He makes no allusion to the incident in his memoirs, though he blames the

prince for his dismissal of Bolingbroke and the manner of it. A long indictment was sent to the English Jacobites by the Duke of Ormonde containing the reasons for the dismissal, but neither Berwick nor Ormonde knew as well as did Lord Stair how Bolingbroke had failed in fidelity and honesty to the cause he professed to serve :—" Poor Harry is turned out from being Secretary of State," he writes to Horace Walpole, " and the seals are given to Lord Mar. They call him knave and traitor, and God knows what ; I believe all poor Harry's fault was that he could not play his part with a grave enough face ; he could not help laughing now and then . . . He had a mistress here in Paris, and got drunk now and then ; and he spent *the money* upon his mistress that he should have bought powder with, and neglected buying the powder and the arms, and never went near the Queen . . . "

1716 " Walpole Commission," Coxe, vol. ii. pp. 307, 308

However sorely Mary Beatrice may have felt Bolingbroke's conduct and the diversion to such unworthy purposes of the funds she had obtained with so much difficulty, her conciliatory spirit prompted her to write to him that she had had no share in his dismissal, and that she was ready to offer her mediation to adjust the differences between him and the King, her son. The answer of " all-accomplished St John " is well known :—" He was now a free man, and he wished his arm might rot off, if he ever drew his sword or his pen in her son's cause."

The Queen's embarrassed circumstances did not prevent her from continuing to help her son's friends to the utmost of her power. The 6th March she sends through Mr. Dicconson a bill for 2,000 *livres* to Lord Mar, whom James had raised to the rank of Duke, " apprehending that your Grace may be in present want of money."

LADY SOPHIA BULKELEY TO A NUN AT CHAILLOT.

" 20 *March* 1716.

" The times, and we ourselves, are so sad, my very dear Sister, that I have hardly courage to write to you, far less to come and see you, although the Queen has had the goodness to propose it to me . . . Her Majesty's health, thank God, is tolerably good, in spite of the

1716 continual and overwhelming afflictions which surround her; the death of the Earls of Derwentwater and Kenmure touched her nearly; nothing could be finer than the last speach of the former, if it were translated into French I would send it to you; the other made none, he only left a letter addressed to our King, begging it might be sent to him; then he embraced his son on the scaffold, telling him he had sent for him to bear witness that he had shed the last drop of his blood for his rightful king, and bidding him do the same if occasion required it. The poor son is only thirteen or fourteen years of age. . .

The Earl of Nithsdale, husband of one of the Duke of Powis's daughters, was fortunate enough to escape from the tower on the eve of the day fixed for his execution. Lady Nithsdale went to see him, changed clothes with him, and he got away with two ladies who had accompanied her. . .

I have no time to write to my daughter; tell her, ir you please, that I am sending her four pairs of white gloves, some potatoes, and her Holy Week book . . . let her be careful of the gloves, and send them back to me as they get dirty."

The Duke of Lorraine had suggested in answer to James Stuart's letter respecting a return to Bar, that he should go to Deux-Ponts, a town belonging to the King of Sweden. James writes to him from

"Near Chalons, 21 *March* 1716.

Imp. Archives, Vienna

". . . I could not go to Deux-Ponts without informing Baron de Spaar and obtaining his consent. . . . he would take nothing upon himself, and after many compliments . . . said he would write to his master. As that will take time, and that France has too much regard for her own interests to suffer me here for a prolonged period, and I, on the other hand, have too much regard for yours to expose them by a long sojourn in Lorraine, it has been determined that I shall go at once to Avignon, instead of waiting for an answer from Sweden. . . This resolution may perhaps shock the English, but those among them who are reasonable . . may clearly see that it was not choice, but necessity forced me to it . . So I leave on Monday after a stay of eight days here, and in good health . . .

Our poor Highlanders have taken to the hills, God knows how they will live . . . I did not neglect to send them two vessels to save some of them, and to give them some powder which may serve them, until they can make a capitulation . . .

The death of the poor Earl of Derwentwater will have touched

you, but he died like a true Christian hero. . . These are sad tidings, but alas, there are none other at present, and they are so oppressive to me, that I should hold myself in some sort happy if I were alone unhappy, but the death of so many innocent men, of which I see myself the innocent cause, pierces me to the heart . . . " 1716

How far the Jacobites, even after the late events, were from believing that their cause was lost, may be seen in a letter from Lord Mar to Mr. Lawless, a Jacobite at the Court of Spain, dated Avignon, 6 April, 1716.

" . . . The King hoped his cousin of Spain would supply him with [money] now when he is in so great want of it. The King knows your zeal for his service, and relys upon your pressing this point as far as you can. The King of Spain is one of the nearest relatives the King has, and there are few others in a condition to supply him . . . Nairne Papers, Bodleian Library

Though it did not please God to favour the King's last attempt, yet the game is not lost, and without relying upon miracles, a more lucky turn is not out of view.

The present Government of England stands upon so rotten a foundation, are so jumbled and divided amongst themselves, the people so exasperated . . . that were it not for the present standing force of troops . . . they could not hold it now. . .

The Spanish minister in England can and I suppose does let his Court know how disagreeable George is to the English, even to contempt . . . You would be surprised to hear of the King's coming here, but what could he do? . . . Until there be a fit opportunity of his going again to his own kingdom, it were a handsome thing in the King of Spaine to give [him] an azil in his own kingdom, if he pleased to make use of it. The King expects an answer to this soon. . . . The King has with him here the Duke of Ormonde and several other people of quality, and more are coming. . . . "

The King of Spain did not send a favourable answer, and the Pope alone was willing to receive so dangerous a guest, sending word to the Queen by Cardinal Gualterio :—

". . . . That he would give all necessary orders to his legate at Avignon, so that His Majesty may be treated with all the respect due to his sacred person, and to the great cordiality His Holiness entertains towards him. . . He offers the King not only Avignon, but Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,295, f. 36

1716 any other town, and Rome itself as his sojourn. So long as he has the means of living himself, he will share them with His Majesty. . .”

Avignon was not far enough to please the English Court, and Lord Stair made an attempt to force the Regency into driving James Stuart still farther away. In a French letter to Secretary Methuen dated Paris, 2 May, 1716, he says :—

Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 349

“The Regent told me . . . that as for the distancing (l'éloignement) of the Pretender, he wished him on the other side of the Alps with all his heart, and was considering daily how to bring it about . . . but he could not resolve upon stopping the Queen's pension, and as for representations to the Pope, it was clear they would have no great weight. . . .”

PENDTENRIEDER TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

“Paris, 26 *May* 1716.

Imp. Archives, Vienna

“. . . It is reported from England that in spite of the Bill for the prolongation of Parliament to seven years, the tranquillity of the country, which was the object in view, has not only not been obtained, but that the hatred against the Government has increased, so that the King has not thought it advisable to undertake his projected journey to Courland.

This causes Mylord Stair to insist all the more upon the Pretender's departure from Avignon, a thing the Regent appears more and more inclined to, in case the Court of England would enter into a closer alliance with France ; he is reported to have said several times that he would then *find means to remove him* ‘*de gré ou de force.*’ But from what Lord Stair has told me, the English require the Pretender's removal to take place first, and then they will talk about an alliance.”

The odious suggestion that James's withdrawal from Avignon should be brought about by starving out the Queen, and with her the numerous poor Jacobites whom she supported at St. Germains, did not at first find favour with the Regent, however great his desire might be to enter into closer friendship with George I. A measure so unchivalrous and unpopular required further pressure and further promises from the English Court, before the Duke of Orleans could bring himself to acquiesce in it.

CHAPTER XVI

With the departure of her son for Avignon, a fresh period of hard work as his chief agent and representative in France devolved upon the Queen, unflinchingly pursued by her in spite of increasing bodily frailty and infirmity. All her consummate tact and charm were needed in her relations with the French Court, no longer governed by her old friend, Louis XIV, but by a man anxious to secure his own position, and to stand well with the English Court. There is little doubt but that the Queen would have preferred to join her son at Avignon than to carry on the ungrateful tasks which kept her at St. Germains, but so essential was her presence there considered, that no thought of the possibility of her departure seems to have been entertained. 1716

May 6, 1716, she sends word to Lord Mar through Mr. Dicconson, that she is perplexed at the order to send 12,000 *livres* to the Highlanders, as it is highly probable the ship will arrive too late to be of any use, and the expense thrown away, "but on the other hand Her Majesty would not take it upon herself to supersede Your Grace's orders, and therefore proposed to send the letters as I now do, and if Your Grace persists in the opinion of sending out this ship, and in laying out the 12,000 *livres*, you will please to write to David George accordingly straight to Bordeaux, and order him to draw upon me for the said sum." Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

James Stuart was anxious to send an agent to Austria, and had fixed upon a Mr. Southcote as a proper person, writing to the Queen thus to employ him.

1716 She writes to Mar from Chaillot, June 6th, 1716 :—

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

". . . . All the packets you sent me were delivered, and here I send you Mr Southcote's answer to your letter, and his to me with the difficulties and objection he makes to the employment the King designs for him. I think some of them are reasonable enough. However, when the King has considered of it, he will lett me know his resolution, and send by you his last orders to Mr Southcote, which, I dare say, will be punctually obeyed, whatever they are, to the best of his capacity.

Mr Dillon, I suppose, will writt to you. I saw him last night, and he was so far from confirming to me what Mr Southcote writt to you, that he told me he had seen Baron de Spaar in the morning, who assured him he has not heard a word from his master for three months, for which he was much concerned, and that he did not so much as know where he was, but that he did not brag of his ignorance to others, and desired him particularly not to tell it to the French.

You owe me no thanks for the justice I have done you at all times, and in all companies, for justice is due to every body, but I am sure I owe it to you in a most particular manner, after the eminent services you have rendered the King, to which I am as incapable to give a wrong turn, as I am to forget them. I wish every body was of this mind, for then you would be easy together, and make the King so. I have, and shall ever do towards it what little lyes in my power, as I shall always seek all occasions of shewing to you and to all the world the true esteem and friendship I have for you. . . ."

Endorsed: "The Queen to Lord Mar, June 6th, received at Avignon, June 11th."

The Queen to Mr. Dicconson. Chaillot, June 9th, 1716 :—

Ibid.

"Since I find Lord Middleton and you are of opinion I should signe the enclosed paper, I will preferr your judgment to my own, and do it, but still I must first have the words of Mr Dillon and one or two more such persons, or els I should signe what is not trew. I keepe the second paper to signe, and send back the first with the words marked which make it necessary I should have the attestations of two or three considerable persons before I can give my own. . . ."

At this time one of the chief agents of the misfortunes of

the Stuarts, the Duke of Marlborough, died, and his death, 1716
as Gualterio remarks in a letter to the Queen's Secretary, Dempster, appeared as if it could not but prove useful to the interests of James. "The Whigs will have a difficulty in Brit. Mus. finding a man to replace him, considering his wealth, his Add. MSS. 26,306, alliances, and the great position in which the favours of fortune f. 155 had placed him. He has always betrayed those who had benefitted him, and I believe he was never constant in aught but that. Your Excellency knows that we have several times had the displeasing experience of the fraudulency of his promises.

"I hear the Duke of Argyle is disgraced after having shown such passionate zeal for the present Government. I should be curious to know the reason, and also how so violent a man suffers an unexpected disgrace. . . ."

Notwithstanding the Queen's warning that Southcote's account of the good intentions of the Swedish Court was not to be relied on, James wrote in July to Charles XII to urge him to come to his aid, assuring him their interests were identical:—"They are seeking to take from you what they have already stolen from me. . . . And the same stroke which would restore to me what I have a claim to, can alone preserve your own right."

The last letter remaining to us from Mary Beatrice to Pope Clement XI, dated September, 1716, was written to solicit the canonization of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga.[1] After urging the motives of his heroic virtues and the numerous miracles worked at his tomb, she continues:—"but beyond the general motives to interest myself in his canonization, are those of the affinity of his House to my own, of my veneration for the Society of Jesus . . . and for all that its members have done and suffered, and still do and suffer for the Catholic Faith, and finally my gratitude for having ever been under their spiritual direction. All these reasons urge me to unite with the King my son in

[1] The Queen had written in March to urge the canonization of the Venerable Jeanne de Chantal, foundress of the order of the Visitation.

1716 humble supplications to Your Holiness to proceed to the canonization of that youthful Saint. . . ."

How minutely the English Court was kept informed of all that occurred at St. Germains and at Avignon is shown in the following despatch from Lord Stair to Secretary Methuen. Who his agents were at Avignon we do not know, but his chief spy at St. Germains was no less a person than the brother of Sir Thomas Higgons. Sir Thomas had succeeded Lord Middleton as Secretary of State to James Stuart when in Lorraine, and was one of the most trusted and, in all probability, most trustworthy servants of the Queen and her son, for there is no reason to suppose that he was aware of his brother's treachery, or that he had been in the pay of the Court of Hanover as well as in that of Lord Stair.[1]

"PARIS, *9th and 12th Sept* 1716.

Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 349

". . . I have seen severall letters from Avignon and have talked to severall people here; all agree that the Pretender and his party are full of hope, and expect to make another attempt before the beginning of the winter. On this day sen'night one St John that was just come over from England with letters from the party there, was despatch'd from Chaillot to Avignon. He says that everything is ready to receive the Pretender, and that he carries invitations for him to come immediately; he, St John, is expected back this week from Avignon. . . .

Last week General Gordon had an express sent for him to come immediately to Avignon, with him went Lochiel and Ogilvy of Boyne. Lord Seaforth is still here; Lord Nithsdale is gone to meet his wife in Flanders. By all I can learn, their principall attempt is to be in England, and they intend no more than a diversion in Scotland.

There are not two ways of thinking in this matter; the party in England have declared that they will not stirr without foreign assistance, so, since they have now declared that they are ready to take arms, they must be assur'd of foreign troops which can only be from Sweden. . . ."

Meanwhile the question of James's marriage with Princess Clementina Sobieska was again brought forward, and an account

[1] Macpherson's Appendix.

drawn up by Abbé Innes relating all that M. Chateauroux, 1716
Prince James Sobieski's agent, had told him of his master's intentions with regard to his daughter. . . .

The dowry was to consist of 800,000 *livres* to be paid down, 200,000 more to be paid some time later, "besides what will fall due to this Princess of her mother's estate at the Prince, her father's death, which will be considerable."

"Prince James, in his letter (which is writt in his own hand), seems mighty desirous of the match, and says that notwithstanding the present condition in which Patrick's affairs are reduced, he would rather chuse to give him his daughter in marriage, than to any other Prince in Europe. . . .

"Princess Clementina, who is the youngest, is in the fifteenth year of her age; he says she is the most beloved of her father, as having the most witt and being of the best humour; that she is yett little in stature, but very agreeable in her person. . . ."

These pleasing prospects were rudely and suddenly interrupted by a double misfortune—the sudden illness of James, and the success of Lord Stair's machinations to persuade the Duke of Orleans to order him to leave Avignon. The Queen, who had always been the tender and assiduous nurse of her children, spending her time "in going from one bed to another," as she had written when the Prince and his sister were ill at the same time at St. Germains, had now to bear the pain and anxiety of being separated from her son at a time of danger and suffering, and of learning at the same time that his recovery would be followed by his removal still farther away from her.

The first news of the illness represented it as slight, and in Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle
her answer to Mar, the Queen, after saying that his letters of September 27th and 29th had brought her "some trouble, finding by them that the King had suffered a great deal, and did still," and expressing a hope that the worst was over, goes on to speak of the eccentric young Marquis of Wharton,[1] who

[1] Philip, second Marquis, and Duke of Wharton 1698–1731.

1716 had lately escaped from his Huguenot tutor at Geneva to go to Avignon and offer his services to James Stuart. After spending a day there, he had gone to Paris and to Lord Stair, at whose table he was reported to have drunk to the health of James III. The Queen writes :—

> "I am charmed with Lord Wharton's letter to you—none can be better written or more loyall. If the last line had been wanting it would have been more generous and quite perfect, but where is the man in the world that is entirely so. . . .
>
> I have sent your letter to Mr Southcote, but have not seen him since. He had already sent a man into England to gett money, but it is certain all those by ways are dangerous and uneasy to the King's most useful friends, and therefore ought to be stopped. . . ."

Mar's next letter brought graver news, and with it an injunction to utmost secrecy :—

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO THE DUKE OF MAR.

"CHAILLOT, 10 *October at* 1 *o'clock.*

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

"There was by good luck but one body with me when I opened your packet of the 6th. It was Madame Molza, who the King knows, and to whom I could not hide my great trouble, as you will easily believe, but I am persuaded she will not speake of it. As soon as I had read your letter I sent for Mr Innes, who you know may be trusted, and consulted with him, which way we should take to gett a chirurgien to send to Avignon without letting so much as himself know who he went for—He resolved to employ Mr Maghie in this affair, since I dare not appear in it myself. He is honest and is acquainted with several good chirurgiens, and I hope will keep the secret, which I earnestly recommend to him.

I was in hopes all this would have been done this morning, and there was a chair ready with post-horses, but an hour ago Mr Maghie brought me this enclosed from Mr Innes, and gave me an account of all he has done. . . . If he cannot prevail with him (Guérin), we must take one that he will answer for, nay, he says he cannot go himself without consulting Mareschal on whom he much depends . . . none of them know anything more than that it is a man of quality come out of England that hides himself, and will not be known to any. . . .

In all the trouble I am in, which you may much easier imagine than I can express, it is a comfort to me to have you near the King. I know your affection for him . . . I also know the confidence and kyndness he has for you . . . and therefore am confident you will be of great use to him, in persuading him to be exact in performing the doctors and surgeons prescriptions, and in keeping company and business from him. . . . Let me hear every day how the King is, for you may be sure I shall be upon thorns as long as he is ill. 1716

M. R.

"At 6 o'clock. I have just received this enclosed from Mr Innes. . . . I hope we may reckon on Guerin's parting in three days, and therefore I will not keep this express any longer, nor the King ignorant of what I have done.

I cannot but think it is a less evil to stay three days and have an eminent chirurgien, than to have sent an ordinary one to-morrow. At least I have done it for the best, I hope in God it will be so.

I have Nairne's letter of the 4th."

SAME TO SAME.

"*14th October.*

"I don't doubt but the news I have to send you will surprise and trouble you as it did me to a great degree. It is so bad that I durst not writt it to the King, and I do conjure you to keep it from him, till he is in a condition to support it. In two words Mr Vernon [Marshal Villeroy] has been with me from Mr Otway [the Regent] to tell me the bargain is made between Henry and John [France and England] at the expense of poor Peter [James Stuart] who must immediately be turned out of the house he is in, by some of Adamson's family troops if he will not other ways be persuaded, which I assured him he would not. . . .

I told Vernon that Peter was not well, but I durst not tell him the truth, because Peter had charged me with the secret; however, I have now resolved to tell it to Vernon to-morrow, upon hearing this afternoon that this secret is out (not by me, I am sure) but Mr Dillon was told at the Palais Royal that the King had a fistula, and that the Regent had sent Guérin post to him to make the operation, and though the story be half false, yett there is too much of it trew for me to conceal it any longer from the Regent, and I believe you will be of my opinion, but again I conjure you not to speake of this neither to the King until he is well, as I hope in God he will soon be after the operation. . . ."

1716 "Vernon made many compliments from Otway and protestations of being much troubled to be forced to this extremity but that he could not avoid it. For my part I told him that I neither could make compliments upon such an occasion, nor receive such a piece of news *de bonne grace*, which touched me to the very heart, but that since there was no remedy (for he told me over and over that there was none) Peter must yield to force, but I was sure he would do nothing else. He also told me Peter must not think of going to Mr. Lumsden [Duke of Lorraine ?] for he would not be suffered to stay in that house, and that there was nothing for him but Pritchard's [the Pope's] country.

This is in short the dismall account I have to give you of this affair, which coming just upon the King's illness, putts me really in a deplorable condition, and God alone can support me in it.

You and the Duke of Ormonde will think together of this affair, and lett me have your advice if there is anything I can say or do in it which really I don't see, unless it be to give you exact accounts of all that shall come to my knowledge concerning it. . . .

I have had your letter . . . of the 7th with an account of Lord Wharton, whose letter and yours to him you had sent me before . . . for to-night I can say no more, for my heart and my head are too full of these two great concerns for to think or writt of any other. I have some little comfort by the King's letter of the 8th to find that he was almost free from pain, but I fear that ease will not last long. I hope you will make the doctor or the chirurgien writt frequent accounts of his condition, and send them to me. . . . "

An alliance between England, Holland and France, and a promise that George I would assist him in his claim to the throne in the event of the death of the infant Louis XV (one usurper being bound to help another usurper, as St. Simon drily observes) were the bribes which had purchased the Regent's consent to the English demands. Lord Stair writes to Secretary Methuen :—

"Paris, *October* $\frac{7}{17}$, 1716.

Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 349

"H.R.H. tells me that he has sent to lett the Queen know that the Pretender must leave Avignon; to facilitate that matter he has ordered the pension to be stopped and the troops in Languedoc are ready to march if the Pretender should happen to make any difficulty to goe out. I intend to speak to the Regent to give orders to hinder

the Pretender's passing through France to gett into Switzerland or any part of Germany that wee may not have any new trouble by his neighbourhood." 1716

"I cannot believe," writes the Queen to Cardinal Gualterio two days later, "that His Holiness is in agreement with the Duke of Orleans in this affair, and still less with the Duke of Hanover and England, and if he is not, they can do no violence to the King without doing it to His Holiness; however we shall only too soon know the issue of this business, and see the end of this sad scene. I can say no more; I leave you to make your own reflections which I shall await with impatience, and I end my letter begging you out of charity to pray for me. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 93, f. 174

MARIE R.

I open my letter to tell you that the news of the treaty between France, England and Holland is public in Paris, so I think it right to speak of it to the Nuncio, which I shall do this afternoon."

The Duke of Orleans had hesitated to inform the Queen that her pension was stopped until after the removal of her son from Avignon, and unpunctuality of payment had been too common of late years for her to understand clearly the meaning of the present arrears. She writes to the Duke of Mar from Chaillot, October 22nd :—

"I told Vernon [Villeroy] that I hoped Otway [the Regent] remembered he had promised me that he would not take it ill if Patrick [James] resisted, and therefor I hoped none of his rents would be stopped, which he sayd he was confident would not; but Vernon is a man of honour and a good-natured man, and really a good friend to Patrick, and almost the only one he has near Otway, so that he judges by himself, and says what he wishes, but I fear few are of his mind. . . . Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

The King's illnesse as well as the treaty . . . are so publick in Paris, that I thought I could not delay any longer acquainting the Nuncio with both . . . he could not think it possible that anybody durst propose to him (the Pope) his sending the King out of Avignon. The Nuncio thinks it may have been done now, but I don't believe it nor that he would hearken to it. . . . "

It was not until the 24th October, a fortnight after the news of her son's serious illness had first reached her, that the

1716 Queen had the happiness of hearing that the operation was over, and the patient "as well after it as could be wished. . . . It would be hard for you to guess," she writes next day to Mar, "and much harder for me to express all that my heart felt in reading of the letter, all that we have now to do is to give God thanks. . . .

"The King's illness has been so public in Paris ever since the surgeon left it . . . that I writt last night to the Marshal de Villeroy, and sent him Guérin's original note. . . ."

LORD STAIR TO SECRETARY METHUEN.

"PARIS, 28th *October* 1716.

Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 349

". . . Yesterday . . . the Regent told me the Pretender had been cutt on the 21st and was in no danger, that the Queen at Chaillot had sent him the account she had of it. I told H.R.H. that I heard that operation was but a pretext for the Pretender's staying all the winter at Avignon, that the Jacobites said the Pretender was resolved not to leave that place, but by force; and that very considerable people in France declared it was their opinion the Regent would not come to that extremity with the Pope. . . . The Regent answered me . . . that what he did was for the good of France . . . that his own particular interest was so closely linked with the King of Britain's . . . that I might depend upon it the Pretender should be gone from Avignon in six weeks sick or well. . . ."

QUEEN MARY BEATRICE TO THE DUKE OF MAR.

"CHAILLOT, 5 *November* 1716.

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

". . . I am in a great hurry to-day, going to St. Germains much against my will, but reason must take place since everybody thinks that it will prejudice my health if I stay here in winter. . . . Now that I begin to be at ease for the ninth day [since her son's operation] being past, I hope in God all danger is over. . . ."

No sooner had the treaty between England, Holland and France become public property, than a *revirement* took place in the attitude of the Emperor of Austria towards James Stuart. That hapless prince appears as an instrument or a

weapon alternately lifted or thrown away by the different great Powers of Europe as the fluctuations of their policy led them to conciliate or threaten the Court of England. Charles VI began once again to hold out hopes of befriending James's cause, and the idea of a marriage with an Austrian Archduchess was again mooted. 1716

"I own to you," writes the Queen to the Duke of Mar, November 6th, 1716, "that the hope of gaining Elmore's [Emperor of Austria] friendship revives my drooping spirits, and that if it can be compassed, we may comfort ourselves for losing that of Otway [the Regent] from whom by the way I have no other message but what you know already, but by way of parenthesis I must tell you that our weekly payments which went on regularly for twelve weeks, have now been stopped entirely these last eight weeks, but I will hope it is not in good earnest, and that they will soon begin again, at least my friend Vernon [Villeroy] did promise it to me, but I can answer for nobody, nor for anything. Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

Now to come to Elmor again, which is certainly the best string the King has to his bow, no doubt somebody must be sent to him immediately, but where to find a fitt person is the question . . I think an Italian would be more proper than an English one, but I have neither, and a Frenchman cannot be proper at all. . The Baron Wales (*sic*) has it in his head to go, but he appears to me to be a very hot man, and I should doubt of his discretion, though not of his honesty and affection: but is it possible that in all those who are at Avignon of our own people, or of that country you cannot find one fitt for it, for the quickest way is to send straight from Avignon. . . . I have made one step towards that affair, but it is a great way about, and we have no time to spare. . . . I have writt to Cardinal Gualterio, as you will see by the enclosed, which I hope the King will approve. . .

I send you Lord Wharton's letter . . . this young man writts and talks much better than most people can do at his age [eighteen] . . . . his attachment for the King I am persuaded is very sincere at present, and I hope will continue so. He has writt a very good letter into England, of which I suppose he has or will send you a copy. As to Lord Wintown, I find him not only very zealous for the King, but so reasonable that I am surprised at it.

. . . I hope before this comes to you, the King will be in a condition to hear of all sorts of businesse, and that you will have

1716 showed him my letters to you, and the message I had from Otway, but I say nothing to him, because I will be able to say with truth, that I have not yet acquainted him with it . . . it is their businesse to press, and ours to gain time, in hopes to have some good answer from Elmor, which God grant, and that you may soon see the King happy, and in a condition to make you so; but for me, if it is not very soon, I fear my old carcasse will not hold together to behold, or at least to hear of that happiness.

M. R.

". . . . I must not forget to mention a letter I had from Mr. Southcote, which you have here. He tells me, that he is sure he can gett 50 or 60 thousand pounds, if he may be permitted to act. He pressed me to give him a credential for the man he employs, but I refused it, the King having forbid him to act in that matter. .

This letter about printing of pamphlets was written to Lady Bute. This Willis has written some very good ones. Lett me know if the King approves his proposal, and if I shall encourage him to writt and set up a press at St. Omer, which no doubt will cost money. . . "

Duke of Mar to Mr. O'Rourke (at the Court of Lorraine).

"Avignon, *Nov.* 24. 1716.

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

"By what I heard yesterday from my correspondent at the Hague, I am very hopeful the Court of Vienna will receive anything H.R.H. [the Duke of Lorraine] proposes there on the King's behalf very favourably . . . . and he mentions a marriage betwixt the King and the Emperor's niece. By a courier they had from Vienna they were confirmed in the account they had of the Emperor's high displeasure at this treaty betwixt the Regent and George. . . .

I had it t'other day from Brussels . . . that the King of Sweden and the Czar had made up their differences. . . . If this prove true it may be great and good news for us . . . . both are very well inclined (to say no more) to our King, and would willingly assist him, tho' this must be a great secret, as you will easily believe. . . . "

The treaty between France and England was signed at the Hague at the end of November. "It singularly displeased the Swedes," says St. Simon, "who considered themselves abandoned by France." Gyllemborg their Ambassador in London, Baron de Spaar in Paris, and Baron Goertz, Charles XII's finance minister and representative at the Hague, agreed to urge their

master to make a descent into Scotland at once. The English Jacobites sent money ; ships were in readiness, and a messenger despatched to Sweden to the King. 1716

The Czar's displeasure with his northern allies was another ground of hope for de Spaar. Peter the Great had as physician, confidant and minister a Scotchman of the name of Erskine, cousin-germain to the Duke of Mar, with whom he was in correspondence. He assured him that the Czar was inclined to make up his differences with Charles XII, that he "hated George mortally," recognised the justice of James Stuart's claims, and would esteem it glorious, peace being made with Sweden, to unite with Charles in restoring the rightful heir of England to the throne of his ancestors. Spaar was informed of these particulars by the Duke of Mar.

LORD STAIR TO SECRETARY METHUEN.

"PARIS, 12 *December* 1716.

"... Lord Wharton had been gone a good many days for England. I did what I could to prevent his going, but to no purpose. I knew certainly he had been in summer last at Chaillot with King James's Queen. I knew that he had since that time been at Avignon with the Pretender, and his going to England was in concert with Mr. Dillon and other Jacobites here .... I have not only informations from severall persons whom I employ at St. Germains and at Avignon, but also from severall persons to whom this Lord has acknowledged the severall facts with his own mouth ... Before he went from Paris he had wrote to Avignon desiring to have the Garter and to be made a Duke. ... " Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 349

Wharton, whose eccentricities verged upon madness, obtained £2,000 from the Queen before leaving Paris, on the plea of furthering the Jacobite cause in England, and acted in direct opposition to his principles as soon as he arrived there. The Dukedom he coveted was granted him a year later by King George.

We have seen in almost all the former letters of Mary Beatrice to the Duke of Mar faint indications of differences of opinion. Mar appears to have displayed no more genius or

1716 talent as a minister of state than he had shown as a military commander, and the Queen often had occasion gently, and with the respect she considered due to the King her son's representative, to correct mis-statements of fact, to warn him against over-sanguine or untrustworthy agents and useless expenditure, and to keep him informed of the exacter intelligence which her presence at headquarters enabled her to obtain. Her last letter of the year 1716 indicates the existence of a suspicion at Avignon that she had favoured a Catholic at the expense of a Protestant Jacobite, and neglected implicitly to carry out her son's instructions. She writes to the Duke of Mar :—

"St. Germains, 30th *December* 1716.

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

". . . I am entirely satisfied of your having acted as you thought most reasonable when you had nothing in view but the merits of G. Gordon, not knowing then that I had given the ship to George—I did not so much as think of what religion those two men were, and I protest to you if George had been a Turk I would have done the same, first in giving him the use of the ship, because I thought his services deserved it, and secondly in desiring he might keep it as a piece of justice which is due to all mankind. This is all I can or will ever say upon this matter, which I will not so much as think of any more, and I beg you to do the same. . . . "

By the end of the year it was becoming plain, according to St. Simon, that the zeal of Baron de Goertz for the Jacobite cause was beginning to cool, and his sincerity to become "suspect." A letter from Gyllemborg to him, dated 18 January 1717, was intercepted, informing him that a sum of £20,000 which had been obtained from a merchant in London was to be placed in the hands of the Queen, who would give it to the persons empowered to manage the financial affairs of the enterprise. Other correspondence had been intercepted, and the English Court took the strong measure of arresting the Ambassador and seizing his papers, which furnished abundant evidence of the formidable character of the design.

The French Court meanwhile made it clear that so long as James remained at Avignon no pensions would be paid, so,

Ercole I, second Duke of Ferrara and Modena.

Picture Gallery, Modena. *by Dosso Dossi*

after making a strong effort, through the Duke of Lorraine, to obtain the Emperor's leave to settle at Venice, and for a portion of his suite to be permitted to go to Flanders, James determined to accept the Pope's offer of a retreat in Italy. He left Avignon at the beginning of February "much regretted there," writes Dangeau, "as he had made himself greatly beloved by his polite and obliging manners." 1717

The Queen writes to him :—

"St Germains, 15 *March* 1717.

"As I see that the post goes twice a week to Lombardy, though not to Rome, I shall continue to write twice, and I hope you will do the same. Imp. Archives, Vienna

I have received no letters from you since the five which came together, nor have I expected any. . . . I have sent the printed papers relating to the Swedish affair to Paris. . . . I am curious and anxious to know how the Duke of Modena will have behaved towards you. I wish he would offer you a pretty house which he possesses about ten leagues from Modena, where my mother and I used to spend the summer. It is called Sassuolo, it is very well situated, the air is very pure; you could finish your convalescence there, and be very quiet, but it is a hope I dare not entertain, as it would be a happiness for me to which I am no longer accustomed." [1]

The answer to the Queen's anxious enquiry as to Duke Rinaldo's behaviour was already on its way to her in a charming letter from her son. The letter was intercepted by the Austrian authorities, and a German translation made, and remitted to Vienna. The Queen herself made an Italian translation to show to Count Fabrizio Guicciardi, Modenese envoy in Paris, and a French version is also in the archives of Modena.

"Bologna, 14 *March* 1717.

". . . After having been to Parma, and seen all that was most remarkable there, I continued my journey to Reggio. I found the Duke of Modena's carriages and Marquis Rangoni, who is a very honest man, awaiting me at the confines of his states. . . .

I arrived at Modena on Friday, and went straight to the Palace,

[1] Intercepted and copied by the Austrian authorities.

1717 where the Duke received me with all imaginable friendliness. He has the best and frankest heart I ever met, and in half an hour we had become as well acquainted as if we had lived a year together. I then went to the Duchess of Brunswick, where I found the three Princesses. I may say, without flattery, that they are very agreeable. The two elder may assuredly pass for beauties. The eldest of the three is very like you. They are all tall and well made, and have had a perfect education. They have a noble air, and modest manners, without embarrassment or constraint. From there I went to the house where I was lodged. The two Princes [Rinaldo's sons] came and supped with me. They are very amiable and well-bred.

Next morning I went to the Carmelite Convent to see our aunt the nun ; I verily believe she is a saint. She has very good health for her age (seventy-five). I do not think she once raised her eyes to my face. I returned to the Palace, and the Duke, the Duchess of Brunswick and I then went to the Visitation Convent adjoining it. I saw one of your old friends, Sister Maria-Laura, she is still vigorous. I also saw Madame Almond's daughter, and Madame Molza's ; her married daughter had supped with me the previous evening. I saw her two sons also, and recommended them to the Duke, thanking him at the same time for all his kindness to that family.

The Duchess of Brunswick offered me every possible civility and kindliness. Before leaving, I remained a long time with them *en amille*, Prince Foresto being also present. The Palace is a noble building, I saw the rarest pictures and works of art. In a word, I am charmed with all I have seen of your country. . . . The persons of quality have a better appearance than I have yet seen in Italy. At the Court there is an air of grandeur joined to a certain politeness and grace which I have not found elsewhere ; and their behaviour to me has been perfect. If you had been there yourself, you could not assuredly have ordered things better. The Duke pressed me strongly to remain another day, but though his offer was very agreeable to me, I hope he will not have taken my refusal ill, as I could not change the concerted order of my journey. . . .

After passing Fort Urbano, I met the Pope's nephew with a Brief, and many compliments . . . and orders to serve me in every way he can. . . . I have written a compliment to the Pope to-day, and a long letter to Cardinal Gualterio, of which I send you copies. . . .

I can tell you nothing of this town, as I have seen nothing of it, having been writing all day. . . . I found Count Fassoni here, a brother of old Riva's and Miss Ronchi that was ; of my own people,

Lord Edward, Lord Clermont, Lord Southesk, and several others, who will remain here a few days so as not to embarrass my route. . . ." 1717

There is a postscript to the above letter in which the Prince bids his mother not to be surprised to hear that he has proposed to Duke Rinaldo for his eldest daughter. The offer was met with civility, and a cautious answer that the Emperor of Austria must be consulted, and James concludes, after many arguments in favour of his choice :—"I am sure you will not disapprove of my conduct; but I shall await your consent before advancing further. You shall be kept informed of every step, and nothing will be concluded until Mr. Elmor [the Emperor of Austria] signifies his approval. . . ."

The Queen received the proposal with delight, and writing in April to congratulate her uncle on the proposed marriage of his eldest son with the Princess Casimire, eldest daughter of Prince James Sobieski,[1] says :—"I should have another point to touch upon. . . . respecting what my son has written to me, and which surprised and delighted me to the highest degree, but I believe the time has not yet come to speak of it. . . ."

The same post took a charming letter from Mary Beatrice to her aunt, Princess Leonora, the Carmelite nun, to thank her for her kindness to her son, and beginning :—"If paper could blush, there would be no particle of white on this sheet, so much ashamed am I of having so long neglected to write to my dear and holy aunt."

James's sudden project embarrassed Duke Rinaldo, whose desire to keep well with England was even greater than his care to please Austria—his own envoy in London, Giuseppe Riva, having written that his master was "all for King George." Too cautious to give a decided answer in the negative, he temporised, and the negotiations were carried on for several months; the Pope entering so heartily into the

[1] The marriage did not take place. The Prince married Feb. 12th, 1720, Princess Charlotte Aglaë, daughter of the Regent Orleans.

1717 scheme, says St. Simon, that he proposed to celebrate the marriage himself at Loreto. Meanwhile Peter the Great had been to Paris, and by his presence revived hopes which the collapse of the Swedish scheme had frustrated. He visited the Queen and expressed earnest hopes for the success of her son's affairs.

James spent the months of June and July in Rome, lodging in Cardinal Gualterio's palace, and the Queen had the satisfaction of knowing that he was in the receipt not only of much kindness and good advice from Clement XI, but of the timely succour of a pension of 20,000 ducats. There were jealousies and intrigues at Urbino as there had been at Avignon, and never ceased to be at St. Germains. In a letter to the Jacobite Bishop Atterbury, James complains of them, and of the attempts made to sow strife between the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar; and Dangeau notes that it was doubtful whether the former would venture to accompany the Prince to Rome, "it might raise suspicions of his having become a Catholic, which would militate against the King his master's interest, and against his own in England."

The Queen remained at Chaillot from the beginning of May until the fifteenth of October. It was her last sojourn there, and despite the change of policy of the Regent, and the gross delays in the payment of her pension, the former acts of public respect continued to be paid her; the formal visits of the infant Louis XV, then four years of age, on her arrival and departure from Chaillot, as well as the Queen's to him, being carefully recorded in Dangeau's Journal.

From Chaillot she wrote to Duke Rinaldo :—

> ". . . To my great surprise and sorrow I have heard from the King my son, that you have broken off [the marriage project] entirely and with a dry and positive refusal, which I candidly confess, I should never have expected from your kind heart and good judgment; I pray God pardon you the wrong you have done to the King my son, to your own daughter . . . and for the sensible grief you have caused me. . . ."

SANCTITY OF JAMES II

The reputation for sanctity of James II had steadily increased since his death, and the sworn attestations of miracles obtained by his intercession may be found on the shelves of the Archives Nationales of Paris. How great a consolation such testimony to her husband's saintliness and happiness were to the Queen, in the midst of her afflictions, can only be measured by the depth of her love for him, and by her vivid sense of the supernatural. One of the greatest desires of her life was to promote his beatification. There is an interesting letter from Gualterio to her secretary Dempster on the subject. 1718

"Rome, 18 *Jan.* 1718.

". . . I have by me the papers Her Majesty deigned to give me when I left the Nunciature of France concerning the instruction of the process of Beatification of the late King. But it is impossible to make any use for the present of those relating to the miracles, because these are the last in order of discussion . . . and must be preceded by many other processes which are exceedingly lengthy, and in which many years are usually employed, between the first introduction of the cause and their examination. That which can be done at present is to keep an account of all that concerns such miracles, and to follow the usual course . . . which requires the utmost attention and diligence. . . . Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,295, f. 203

I shall procure from one of our lawyers accustomed to these causes, and who are quite distinct from others in the profession, full instructions of all that is required for production at the examination, which must be made here, and of everything else which is necessary to introduce the cause before the Pope; I shall then make my humble representations to Her Majesty on the subject itself; this is all I can have the honour of saying for the moment."

Another letter, addressed to Dempster, testifies to the tenderness of James for his mother :—

"When the King was here he received several presents, all of which he destines for the Queen, together with a portrait of himself taken by the best painter we have, according to the note you will find herewith. They could not be despatched sooner, as His Majesty wished to have some copies made of the portrait to give to some of his adherents. . . ." *Ibid.* 20,306, f. 445

1718 The New Year also brought the Queen a letter from the Duke of Modena, to which she answered :—

> "I thank you for all the fine compliments (*i belli complimenti*) you make me, I wish I could return them in as eloquent a style, but that not being possible, I content myself with telling you simply and truly, that notwithstanding all that has happened, and may still happen, I shall never cease to wish you and all your family every happiness. . . ."

The intrigues at Urbino, the difficulty James experienced in discriminating between the accusations and counter-accusations urged by the different sections of his party against each other, the exasperation of hope deferred as the crown he sought seemed constantly within his grasp, and yet ever to elude it, the lack of judgment and decision, the readiness to hearken to the latest counsellor, which the Duke of Berwick had referred to as one of the causes of his failure in Scotland, now led him to an act which was to sever the last thread binding Mary of Modena to the things of earth, and to set her free to escape to her rest. The new advisers at Urbino persuaded the Prince to discard the old and trusted servants at St. Germains, as they were in a short time to find themselves supplanted by new and untried confidants.

Stuart Papers, edited by Glover

Not that Mar was a *persona grata* to all the English Jacobites, for in a letter to Bishop Atterbury, in the name of Rigg, James defends his Secretary of State as vehemently from the suspicions the Bishop and his party entertained of his incompetency, as he is urgent, almost to petulance, in his orders that all confidence shall be withdrawn from Abbé Innes, the Queen's almoner and most trusted servant, and from Mr. Dillon. "I desire you will show Andrew [the Queen] those letters with this," he writes to Dutton [Lord Middleton ?] "but for the first time I must say I neither ask his nor your advice about them, for go they must."

Ibid. Windsor Castle

Bishop Atterbury did not share this view of the value of the Queen's advice and power, which had, at this very time, been used with the Regent, and through him with the English Court

to set right the rash act of Lord Peterborough's[1] arrest and imprisonment at Bologna on a vague charge of a projected attempt to seize James's person, while through Cardinal Gualterio she had been instrumental in obtaining Peterborough's release; Atterbury writes through Mar in January to urge her to send letters to the Duke of Norfolk and other prominent persons in England to obtain their adhesion to the Jacobite cause. 1718

James explains his views and formulates his complaints in a letter to Père Gaillard, his mother's confessor, dated Fano, 28 February, 1718.

Referring to the jealousies among the Catholic Jacobites, he says :—

"They would force me to the same measures which were the source of my father's misfortunes. . . . As to the rest, I know my duty, thank God, and it appears to me that I do it; I am a Catholic, but I am a king; and subjects, of whatever religion they may be, have an equal right to be protected. I am a king; but as the Pope himself told me, I am not an apostle. I am not bound to convert my people otherwise than by my example, nor to show apparent partiality to Catholics, which would only serve to injure them later. . . . Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

As to what regards Mr. G— [Dillon ?] personally, the only thing that troubles me is the fear of having displeased the Queen, and the impossibility of explaining my sentiments to her without perhaps wounding charity or the respect I owe her; but my tenderness for her does not permit me to hide anything from you, in order that you may choose your time for explaining my views and sentiments, which she cannot but approve, when she examines them without prejudice. . . . The principal reason which determined me to dismiss Mr G. was that I clearly saw that by his manoeuvres he would end by raising discord between the Queen and myself . . . and that he was indirectly doing all he could to lead her to measures which could only render her disagreeable to my country. . . . I do not doubt but Mr G. will do his best to prejudice her against me in his own favour. I conjure and beseech you to persuade her of the honesty and sincerity of my sentiments and actions, so that rendering justice to one and the other, she may be at peace and at rest. She knows as well

[1] Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough, 1658–1735.

1718 as I do that the qualities of son and of master are nowise incompatible, she knows that I have always allied them without detriment to my respect and tenderness for her, and as she is above all others, and has nothing in common with them, so I have the right to dispose of them as seems good for my service, without intrenching upon what I owe her. . . . ."

The Duke and Duchess of Lorraine went to Paris in the spring and the Prince of Vaudemont, who accompanied them, sent news of the Queen to her son immediately upon his return to Commercy.

"2 *April*, 1718.

Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

". . . . I had the honour of seeing the Queen two days before leaving Paris. . . . I never saw Her Majesty look better, or with a brighter air. . . . I had a long conversation afterwards with that good Dillon who is more full of zeal and attachment for Your Majesty's service than ever. As for me, Sire, whose devotion is as great, I can only foresee good things, without saying more by letter. God will bless you, Sire, and will do you justice; there was never greater appearance of it, which delights me. . . . ."

The marriage of James Stuart was being actively pushed forward; even his enemies in England wishing to see him married, writes St. Simon, "so that they may always have a legitimate heir to show to their king, to remind him of their choice, and to keep him in order" (*le contenir*). James was not easy to please. "The Princess of Baden is a dwarf; the Princess of Saxony is too old," he writes to the Duke of Ormonde, and he again inclines towards the Princess Clementina Sobieska.

Lord Stair keeps the English Court informed of these reports, writing in French to Secretary Craggs, 9 April, 1718.

Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 349

". . . . The rumour prevails here that the Pretender is to marry the Czar's niece, and that he has left Italy. Lord Panmure has come here. I know, beyond all doubt, that the Catholics and some English Jacobites are advancing large sums of money, some having given as much as £3,000 or £4,000. The Jacobites have a firm design to seize some important post in the north of England, which

can only be Hull or Newcastle. They are sending arms into the West by small vessels running from la Rochelle, St Malo, and other ports in Brittany and Normandy ; they send 100, 200, or 300 arms at a time, and all are hidden in private houses to serve when the occasion will offer." 1718

"*April* 16*th.*

". . . . One thing shocks me above all, that Mr Dillon, a Lieut-General in the French service dares take upon himself to act as the Pretender's minister here as openly as he does. It seems to me that it would be well to send me an order to speak somewhat strongly on this point. . . ."

James's own act had rendered such speech unnecessary, and Stair writes, probably not without surprise and satisfaction :—

"4 *May.*

"As for Mr Dillon, I have just heard from a very good source that the Pretender has ordered that henceforwards neither the Queen nor Mr Dillon, nor any other person at St Germains, are to meddle in his affairs. They are to be directed by Mylord Mar and the Council the Pretender has in England."

"7 *May.*

"It is true that the Queen at St Germains and all her Court, the Irish and the Catholics have orders to meddle no more with the Pretender's affairs, and that all must go through other channels in future. The grief of this has perhaps contributed to that Princess's illness. She expected to die of a fever a few days past ; she was a little better yesterday after being bled."

During this, her last illness, Stair's spy Higgons continued to purloin the Queen's papers from her private cabinet, as a despatch from the Ambassador to Craggs testifies, enclosing three letters thus abstracted in the first week of May.[1]

Mary Beatrice was preparing to go to Chaillot when she fell ill, on Sunday the first of May, the Feast of St. James the Less, her husband's patron.

The King of France's two chief physicians were hastily despatched to St. Germains ; they at first thought gravely of her condition, but so well did she rally, that they were soon reassured.

[1] See Appendix D.

1718
Vatican Archives

"On Wednesday," writes Monsignor Pepoli, Nuncio at Paris to Cardinal Paulucci, "Her Majesty sent one of her gentlemen to condole with me upon my sister's death, and to tell me that as soon as she was recovered we should meet at Chaillot. . . . The same day I sent a gentleman to St Germains who returned on Thursday telling me the fever continued, but that it was moderate, and there were no dangerous symptoms. On Friday the news was the same, and so little were the physicians alarmed, that they returned to Paris in the afternoon. . . . At 8 o'clock the following morning (May 7th), Count Molza wrote to inform me that the end was near; I started at once, but met the Duke of Lauzun and the doctors half way, who informed me the Queen was dead. . . . I regret not to have had the consolation of assisting at her death, and of recommending myself to the prayers of that holy Princess. . . ."

The news despatched from St, Germains on the 7th took eleven days to reach Urbino, arriving there on the 18th. Countess Molza conveyed to James Stuart his mother's last gift.

". . . . An hour before her death, she bade me give her this little crucifix, she was trembling, and pressed it into my hands, bidding me earnestly (*con commando*) to send it to Your Majesty, as I now do. These were her exact words:—'Molza, I pray you, when I am dead send this crucifix to the King, my son.' She repeated them twice. . . ."

The same day Eleonore di Molza wrote to her brother at Modena:—

"8 *May*, 1718.

"I write to give you a few details of Her Majesty's illness. On Sunday the 1st she appeared perfectly well. She made her hour's adoration before the Blessed Sacrament, and was at Benediction at the Parish Church, after which she took her usual walk [on the terrace of St. Germains]. At night she had a shivering fit, and at three o'clock in the morning a continued fever declared itself, increasing three or four times a day. On Friday afternoon she began to get worse, and sent for her confessor, though everybody opposed it, thinking her in no danger. At 10 o'clock she received Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction with all possible piety; she spent a very bad night, and expired at half past seven on Saturday morning, rendering her

beautiful soul up to God—she died as she had lived, one cannot say more. 1718

The surgeons found that the cause of death had been inflammation of the lungs . . . her body was embalmed, and will be taken to Chaillot to-morrow, I leave you to imagine to what a state of sorrow and desolation we are all reduced. Your sister and servant

ELEONORE DI MOLZA."

Père Gaillard, the Queen's confessor, wrote to James Stuart the following day, telling him that she had had Mass said in her room each morning of her illness.

"This is what regards you personally—you knew her tenderly maternal heart, which remained the same till death. You do not ignore the pain she felt at the last orders she received from Your Majesty, but intimately persuaded of your affection she ordered me to tell you that whatever came from you, though it might be contrary to her ideas and her wishes, made no contrary impression upon her love for you, and that she was in no way displeased; but that she begged you to pardon her all the pain she may have given you by little contestations; which she ordered me to tell in the tenderest manner. . . . Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle

I am charged by the Queen to make an earnest solicitation for the prompt payment of the arrears of her pension, so as to discharge the salaries of her servants, a thing she had greatly at heart. . . ."

The Queen's body, clad for the first time, at her often expressed wish, in the black habit of the order of the Visitation, was carried to Chaillot on the night of the 9th May. Dr. Ingleton, her almoner, and James's old tutor, writing an account of the ceremony to the Prince, begins his letter:—

"Why should we grieve that a person so dear to us has changed a miserable afflicting state for one that's infinitely and eternally happy? . . . *Ibid.*

The funeral was performed with all the solemnity and order imaginable. The Convoy set forth about seven in the evening. I had again the mournful office of carrying the heart in my hands; the whole country about seemed assembled for a great part of the way. We arrived at Chaillot a little before 12; we found the gates of the Convent open and the whole community in the Cloister with lights

1718 and tears to receive us. The body and heart were set down there while I spoke my short harangue to present them. . . .

The Superior made a very modest and religious answer often interrupted with sobs and tears, from thence we proceeded to the Quire, where we found a Mausolée erected and adorned with the greatest pomp and decency I have ever seen ; upon this the body and heart were deposited while a numerous assembly of priests sang the *Libera*. This, Sir, will I fear only serve to renew your grief and yet methinks 'tis some ease to talk and write upon this doleful subject. . . ."

"The heart of our holy Queen is left to us for ever," says the circular letter of the Nuns on Mary of Modena's death, "her body is entrusted to our Monastery until the restoration of the King her son to the throne of England, when it will be transferred there with those of King James II, her august consort, of glorious memory, and of the Princess Louise Marie. . . ."

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,306, f. 478

Cardinal Gualterio was at Urbino when the news of the Queen's death reached her son. He writes on the 23rd May to Mr. Dempster :—"Your Excellency can measure our grief by your own. His Majesty has felt his loss with an intensity equal to the tenderness he felt for so good a mother. The news arrived at an unfortunate moment ; he had been bled in the morning for a slight ailment, and it happened that he saw the courier himself. Thank God, he is better, and we hope he will soon be restored to health."

James was able to write a brief note to the Pope immediately on the receipt of the news of the death of "a mother who deserved all my tenderness," and in his answer Clement XI

Vatican Archives

compares his own loss with that of the King in "The common, most heavy loss we have sustained, Your Majesty of so incomparable a mother . . . and we of a daughter whose heroic virtue commanded the distinguished esteem with which we regarded her. . . . May it please God to grant us both, as our grief and loss are equal, an equal strength to support so great a blow." After expressing his belief in the eternal happiness of the Queen, the Pope concludes :—"meanwhile . . . we have not omitted, nor do we omit to offer the suffrage

of our own and others' Sacrifices for the soul of the Queen, 1718
rather in fulfilment of our duty than in the belief that she has needed or needs them. . . ."

St. Simon, in recording Mary Beatrice's death in his Memoirs, adds his estimate of her character :—" Her life, since she came to France at the end of 1688 had been but a series of misfortunes, which she bore nobly to the end, in devotion towards God, detachment, penance, prayer, in continual good works and in all the virtues which make a saint. With much natural sensitiveness, great spirit, and natural haughtiness, which she had learned closely to captivate and constantly to humble, she had the noblest air in the world, the most majestic and imposing, and withal gentle and modest—Her death was as holy as had been her life. . . ."

The Queen's solicitude for her poor pensioners reached beyond the grave. In her last will and testament, signed 18 August, 1712, witnessed by the Dukes of Berwick and Perth, Lord Middleton and Dicconson, after divers legacies to be paid after the restoration of her son, there is the following clause :—" and as we are persuaded that at the time of our death several members of our household will find themselves in a painful situation, having no means ourself of succouring them, we desire the King our son, (in the event of his not being restored at our death) to make an urgent request to the King of France in his name as well as in mine to obtain . . . the payment of so much of our dowry as may be required to pay a year's salary to each of my servants, and a year's pension to all my pensioners exiled from their own country."

" Nothing but the day of judgment," wrote Sir Thomas Higgons from St. Germains to the Duke of Mar, a few weeks after the Queen's death, " can give us a truer emblem of horror and confusion than this miserable place is filled with at present. . . ." More than six months' pension was owing the Queen, but the Regent ordered the arrears to be paid, and further granted pensions at the intercession of the Duke of Berwick, as we see by a letter from Dicconson to James Stuart,

1718 to certain of the Queen's servants who remain at St. Germains, "not quite what they had before, but within a third or fourth." The Ladies of the Bedchamber received 3,000 frs., the Bedchamber women 2,000 frs., Lord Middleton 2,000 frs., Mr. Crane and Caryll 1,000 frs., Mr. Dicconson 2,000 frs.

Count and Countess Molza and their daughter Eleonore returned to Modena. Lady Strickland, after closing the eyes "of the best mistress in the world," as she wrote to James Stuart, retired to the Convent of the Poor Clares at Rouen, but Lady Sophia Bulkeley, Lady Middleton, Mrs. Plowden, and a few others remained at St. Germains, piously cherishing the memory of their Queen, even, it is reported, to the lighting of the candles on her toilette table evening after evening, though the magnificent silver toilette provided by Louis XIV at her first coming to France had been sent to Urbino, to be used later by James's wife Clementina.

Mary of Modena left few debts, none but what were easily covered by the arrears of her pension, as Dicconson, her treasurer, wrote to the Prince, and as she left few debts, so she left few possessions;[1] the jewels of value, heirlooms, were so few, that her son, in his directions as to the sending of them to him by Captain Sheldon, writes to Dicconson :—"I believe he had as good put them in his pocket as most safe, but that as he pleases." We know by a letter of Dicconson's that they consisted of her mother's pearls, a pair of diamond ear-rings, and a diamond buckle for a girdle. The Queen had bequeathed to Louis XIV, in return for the pension he had made her, her rights to the dowry twice accorded to her in England, and to an estate she had in Cambridgeshire. It is said that the Regent Orleans made an unsuccessful application for its payment.

Dr. Burnet, the chief traducer of Mary Beatrice, was dead, but he had left disciples and imitators, and as his first libel on the Queen had issued from Holland, so the occasion of her death was seized upon by a writer in the Dutch Gazette to revive the old calumny, which we find refuted in a printed letter from

[1] See Appendix E.

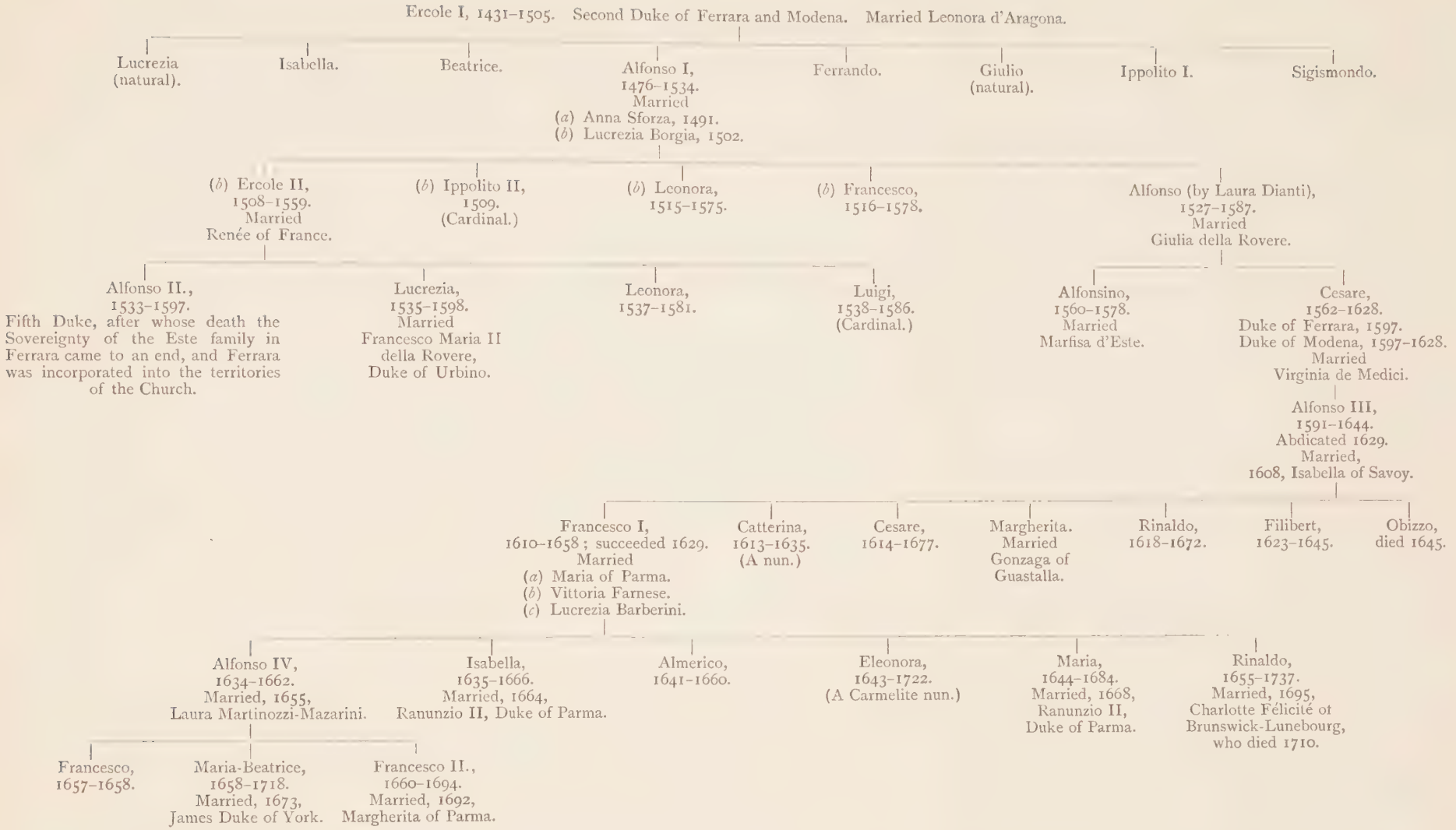
a gentleman at Paris to a correspondent at the Hague. After giving a minute account of the Queen's last hours as related to him by a person who was present, he continues :— 1718

"You will wonder therefor, upon what your *Holland Gazetteer* could ground such an apparent falsity as to insinuate that she disowned at her Death the Chevalier de St George's being her son, for whose safety and Happiness she professed, both then and at all Times, a much greater concern than for her own Life . . . for as she loved nothing in the world but him, so she seemed to desire to live no longer than She could be serviceable to him. She had suffered near 30 years of exile for his sake; and chose rather to live upon the benevolence of a foreign Prince than to sign such a Receipt for her jointure as might give the least Shadow of prejudicing what she thought her Son's Rights. . . . Never Mother lov'd a Son better! never Mother suffer'd more for a Son or labour'd more zealously to assist Him! But if malicious Men will still pursue that oppressed Princess with Lyes and Calumnies, even after her Death, that with the rest must be suffered. . . ." Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. No. 849, f. 308

Not on this discordant note can we close our study of the Queen, but rather in the words of that shrewd critic St. Simon, who, commenting upon Dangeau's—"She died as a saint, and as she had lived," writes :—"The life and the death of this Queen of England are comparable with those of the greatest saints. He who would undertake their eulogy would write a very curious volume, more edifying and instructive than many of the books of devotion which inundate the world, and of which the greater part are not apt to produce great fruit."

Such a panegyric was sketched by Père Gaillard, but James, for political reasons, ordered its suppression, and no fragment of it has come down to us.

HOUSE OF ESTE (II)


Ercole I, 1431–1505. Second Duke of Ferrara and Modena. Married Leonora d'Aragona.
Lucrezia (natural).
Isabella.
Beatrice.
Alfonso I, 1476–1534. Married (a) Anna Sforza, 1491. (b) Lucrezia Borgia, 1502.
Ferrando.
Giulio (natural).
Ippolito I.
Sigismondo.
(b) Ercole II, 1508–1559. Married Renée of France.
(b) Ippolito II, 1509. (Cardinal.)
(b) Leonora, 1515–1575.
(b) Francesco, 1516–1578.
Alfonso (by Laura Dianti), 1527–1587. Married Giulia della Rovere.
Alfonso II., 1533–1597. Fifth Duke, after whose death the Sovereignty of the Este family in Ferrara came to an end, and Ferrara was incorporated into the territories of the Church.
Lucrezia, 1535–1598. Married Francesco Maria II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino.
Leonora, 1537–1581.
Luigi, 1538–1586. (Cardinal.)
Alfonsino, 1560–1578. Married Marfisa d'Este.
Cesare, 1562–1628. Duke of Ferrara, 1597. Duke of Modena, 1597–1628. Married Virginia de Medici.
Alfonso III, 1591–1644. Abdicated 1629. Married, 1608, Isabella of Savoy.
Francesco I, 1610–1658; succeeded 1629. Married (a) Maria of Parma. (b) Vittoria Farnese. (c) Lucrezia Barberini.
Catterina, 1613–1635. (A nun.)
Cesare, 1614–1677.
Margherita. Married Gonzaga of Guastalla.
Rinaldo, 1618–1672.
Filibert, 1623–1645.
Obizzo, died 1645.
Alfonso IV, 1634–1662. Married, 1655, Laura Martinozzi-Mazarini.
Isabella, 1635–1666. Married, 1664, Ranunzio II, Duke of Parma.
Almerico, 1641–1660.
Eleonora, 1643–1722. (A Carmelite nun.)
Maria, 1644–1684. Married, 1668, Ranunzio II, Duke of Parma.
Rinaldo, 1655–1737. Married, 1695, Charlotte Félicité of Brunswick-Lunebourg, who died 1710.
Francesco, 1657–1658.
Maria-Beatrice, 1658–1718. Married, 1673, James Duke of York.
Francesco II., 1660–1694. Married, 1692, Margherita of Parma.

Muratori in his *Antichità Estensi* proves the descent of the family of Este from Obert I Lord of Canossa, who married Eliza Princess of Antioch, and was created Count of the Sacred Palace by the Emperor Otho I in the year 962.

To face p. 510]

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The dispute between the Dukes of Modena and Mantua in 1678 was the reopening of an old quarrel.

Muratori, in his "Antichità Estensi," published 1740, gives an interesting account of the Duchess Laura of Modena :—"She was a true woman, with the courage and sense of a man. In the early part of 1666 there were threatenings of war between Modena and Mantua on account of some small islands in the Po near Brescello. . . . They undoubtedly belonged to the Duke of Modena . . . but the Mantuanese, attempting to become possessed of them and refusing to yield to her reasons, the Duchess Regent was compelled to protect the rights of her son and her subjects by force of arms. She raised a strong force, strengthened the fortifications of Brescello, and placed several regiments on the bank of the Po under the command of Prince Cesare d'Este, brother of the late Duke Francis I. The Duchess of Mantua, Archduchess Isabella Clara of Austria, regent for the Duke, her son, did as much on her side, and the artillery of both forces was brought into play.

"The neighbouring princes looked on with intense curiosity to see how these two amazons would handle the sword and lance instead of the distaff, but fortunately the Po lay between them, and the Governor of Milan, Don Louis Ponce di Leon also interposed. He feared that this spark might develope into a great fire, that the Duchess Laura might claim the protection of France and attract a French army again into Italy to the destruction of peace. The Duchess did not have recourse to France, although that Court complained both then and afterwards that she had not done so. . . . The Governor of Milan sent the wise and courteous Count Vitaliano Borromeo to Modena, and Marquis Carlo Lunati to Mantua, by whose dexterous diplomacy an armistice was concluded and the question submitted to the decision of the Emperor" (p. 589.)

APPENDIX B

The body of James II was deposited in Lord Cardigan's chapel, separated by an iron grating from the Church of the English Benedictines in the Rue St. Jacques, Paris. A gilt metal plate on the bier bore the inscription :—*Ici est le corps du très-haut, très-puissant et très-excellent prince, Jacques II, par la Grâce de Dieu, Roy de la Grande-Bretagne, né le* 24 *Octobre* 1633, *décédé en France au Château de St. Germain-en-Laye, le* 16 *Septembre* 1701. The Convent of the English Oblates of St. Benedict, founded by Queen Anne of Austria and by pious donations from the Catholics of England, was suppressed at the French Revolution, and the remaining buildings of church and college are now a private *Lycée*, but the plans preserved in the Archives Nationales permit us to recognise the provisional resting-place of King James and the Princess Louise Marie.

In 1840, Mr. Fitz-Simons, an octogenarian Irishman, gave the following account, written down at his dictation by Mr. Pitman-Jones and published in Oliver's collection of English MSS. :—"I was a prisoner in Paris in the Convent of the English Benedictines in the Rue St. Jacques, at the time of the Revolution, together with the Prior himself, Mr. Parker. It was in 1793 or 1794. In one of the chapels lay the body of King James, awaiting the day when it would be transferred to Westminster Abbey. It had never been buried and was placed in a wooden coffin, enclosed in a leaden one, and that again in a wooden one covered with black velvet. The *sans-culottes* broke open the coffins for the lead, of which they made bullets. The body remained exposed a whole day. . . . It had been well embalmed and the state of preservation was perfect, the hands and nails very beautiful. I moved and bent each finger; I never saw such beautiful teeth. . . . The face was unchanged. . . .

"The French and English prisoners, desiring to see the body, gave money to the *sans-culottes*, who said James had been a good *sans-culotte* and they would put him in a hole in the cemetery with the other *sans-culottes*; the body was then taken away, but where it was put I do not know. King George made every effort to find out, but his researches were fruitless. A wax mask of the King, a very good likeness, hung from a beam in the chapel."

In the public register of the municipal council of St. Germain-en-Laye, under date July 12, 1824, we find an account of the discovery that morning, by the architects conducting the rebuilding of the parish church, of three leaden urns containing the *praecordia* of James II and of the Princess Louise Marie. The governor of the palace of St Germains, Comte de Talleyrand, the *curé* of the parish, the mayor and municipal

council, the architects, and commissary of police hastened to the spot and examined the urns with their inscriptions and contents, a part of those of James II being undecayed. The urns were then placed in the treasury of the sacristy and the ancient registers searched, when the accounts of the deposit of the remains in the church were found:— "For the consolation of the people, both French and English, and to preserve in this place the memory of so great and religious a prince. . . . All the inhabitants of this town and the neighbourhood have had the consolation of rendering the last duties to him, and of visiting him on his bed of state."

The original epitaph no longer exists, but a copy remains among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

Regi Regum
Felicique Memoriae
Jacobi II Majoris Britannicae Regis
Qui sua Hic Viscera Condi Voluit,
Conditus ipse in Visceribus Christi.
Fortitudine Bellica Nulli Secundus,
Fide Christiana Cui Non Par?
Per Alteram Quid Non Ausus?
Propter Alteram Quid Non Passus?
Illa Plus Quam Heros
Ista Prope Martyr

. . . . .

Moritur Ut Vixit Fide Plenus
Eoque Advolat Quo Fides Ducit
Ubi Nihil Perfidia Potest.

Epitaph of the Princess Louise Marie on a white marble slab in front of the High Altar of the Church of St. Germains:—

Viscera Ludovicae Mariae
Filiae Jacobi Secundi
Magnae Britannicae Regis.
Consummata In Brevi Explevit Tempora Multa
Dilecta Deo Et Hominibus
Annos Nata Prope Viginti
Abiit Ad Dominum Die XVIII Aprilis MDCCXII.

In the Archives Nationales of Paris (*Inventaire du Séquestre, B. No.* 44) there may be found the report of the Commissaire Louis Emerentien Déperthes of the seizure, by himself and his two *adjoints*, "the 17th Pluvios, year 2 of the Republic one and indivisable, at 9 o'clock in the morning" of all the papers belonging to the English Benedictines in the Rue St. Jacques. In the list we find mention of "two trunks full of papers, one of them containing *the correspondence of the late James*

Stuart. . . ." On the margin is written :—"Sent to the literary depôt, Rue Marc, according to receipt No. 9." Unfortunately, the careful researches made by the Marchesa Campana de Cavelli in the various archives of Paris failed to discover any trace of this correspondence.

APPENDIX C

At the suppression of the religious orders an Inventory was taken by the delegates of the municipal authorities, dated 14 November, 1790, of the "Pictures and objects of value in the Monastery of St Marie of Chaillot." Among the most remarkable were two large pictures, 7 by 9 ft., given by Mary Beatrice, according to a Chaillot circular letter, in 1716 for the royal tribune; one represented the apotheosis of James II and the Princess Louise Marie his daughter; the other was a portrait of the Queen holding a cross in her hand, which she is presenting to her son. "These pictures are very fine and highly esteemed." Another document gives the name of Rigaud as the painter.

There seems to have been a regular picture gallery at Chaillot, for, besides the works described as in the tribune and the *Salle d'Assemblés*, others are mentioned "in the Gallery." James II is depicted in another painting with an olive branch in one hand and the Princess Louise Marie on the other, to whom he shows a figure of Religion holding an open book with the following verse from the 44th Psalm : *Listen, my daughter and give ear, forget thy people and the house of thy father.* And these words, Proverbs, Chap. 21 : *The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord, like a running water he will lead him.* Religion holds a crown of stars in her other hand. The pictures, 7 by 9 ft., were the work of Gobert, the heads being executed by Mignard. They were given to the Convent by the Queen in 1701 after James's death, but the heads must have been painted before 1695, the date of Mignard's death. There was also a portrait of Mary Beatrice by Mignard, and portraits of Henrietta Maria, Catherine of Braganza, James Stuart, Princess Louise Marie, and lastly a large picture of Henrietta Maria and her children with St. Francis of Sales. Besides these Stuart portraits, Chaillot possessed an interesting collection of historical portraits, Louis XIV and the Dauphin, Madame de la Vallière, Madame de Montespan, the Duchess of Maine, Queen Anne of Austria, and some of the more remarkable of the old Superiors of the Convent.

Of sacred pictures the principal seem to have been a Holy Family by Philippe de Champagne, a St. Frances Chantal by Restout, and a St. Barbara described in the inventory as "superb," attributed to J. Huysmann (1664).

The chapel was rich in Stuart gifts, the bodies of two or three saints transferred from the catacombs of Rome, enclosed in shrines of precious

metals, rich reliquaries, and a little statuette in pure gold given by the Queen, a relic most probably of her ancient splendour. Precious MSS., medals, miniatures, engravings, a valuable library, and archives rich in original documents of Charles I, Henrietta Maria, Marie de Medicis, James II, and many others are mentioned in the inventory, but, excepting the Chaillot journal and circular, and the Queen's letters in the Archives Nationales in Paris, all have disappeared.

With the above inventory was another bearing date 4 June, 1791, drawn up by "Roard, commissioner and municipal officer of the administration of national ecclesiastical property. . . . In the middle of the tribune is a sarcophagus of oak and pine-wood surrounded by a balustrade and under a daïs of black velvet with silver lace and fringes with escutcheons bearing the arms of England, a brass cross and four black candlesticks. This sarcophagus encloses a lead coffin containing (as it was declared) the body of Mary of Este.

"In front of the coffin is a wax head of which the face was cast upon that of the Queen after death. In a recess, with a sliding screen above, a box was found containing a coffer covered in cloth of silver which enclosed a crowned silver gilt heart bearing an inscription that it contained the heart of James, King of England; another coffer covered with white damask laced with gold, bearing the arms of England, contained a silver gilt heart with the inscription that it holds the heart of Marie Stuart [Mary Beatrice]. . . . Another coffer covered with black velvet laced with gold contains two silver hearts, the one inscribed as containing the heart of Henrietta Maria of France, widow of Charles I, and the other that of Louise Marie of England. . . ." The inventory goes on to describe the little tribune chapel with its carved parti-gilt altar with crucifix and six candlesticks of gilt-bronze, its six *prie-dieu*, ten chairs and three benches, where Mary Beatrice and her ladies were accustomed to pray.

The Queen's *praecordia* were placed in the Scotch College, Rue Fossés St. Victor, Paris.

"On a copper-plate fixed to a box covered with black velvet; 'thwart it a cross of white damask in capitals is this inscription :—

"Entrailles de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne Marie Eleonor (*sic*) d'Est, décedée à
St Germain-en-Laye, le 7 Mai, 1718."

Rawlinson MSS. Bodleian Library, 155, f. 4

The further acts of the great revolution with regard to Chaillot were unchronicled, as the wave of the Terror rose and swept all before it, carrying away the body of the Queen, the hearts in their silver cases, the treasures of history and of art in the archives, library, and gallery, even to the destruction of the building itself, leaving no record and no trace of the spoliation and dispersion which the minute and careful investigation made by the Marchesa Campana de Cavelli before 1870, with the

assistance of the then Government, could discover. Napoleon I, shortly before his downfall, had contemplated building a palace upon the heights of Chaillot which would have eclipsed Versailles; the plans were made, the remaining ruins of the Convent were laid low, and the foundations of the new buildings were actually begun. Under the third Napoleon, the ground was again disturbed for the construction of the Exhibition of 1867, and careful search was made by the municipal architects for any traces of the Stuarts, but nothing in the shape of relics, inscription, or vestige of the contents of the Convent could be found. Lastly, when the temporary buildings near the Trocadero were in course of erection for the Exhibition of 1900, a quantity of female bones were discovered, which led to the belief that the site had been the burial ground of the Chaillot monastery, but there was no possibility of identifying any of them, and the body of Mary Beatrice, like that of James II, was probably thrown into the *fosse commune* and the lead of her coffin made into bullets.

The two inventories above quoted were burned, together with all the contents of the Hôtel de Ville, by the Commune in 1870, but transcripts had fortunately been made of them by the Marchesa Campana de Cavelli for her "Derniers Stuarts à St. Germain-en-Laye" before the fall of the Empire.

APPENDIX D

LORD STAIR TO SECRETARY CRAGGS (*written in French*)

"PARIS, 18 *June*, 1718.

Pub. Rec. Office, France, No. 349

". . . I send you herewith three letters which were taken from the Queen's cabinet at St. Germains, a few days before her death; you will see that two of them are written in the hand of a man who does not know English; apparently the author of the letters had them copied by someone who knew no English, in order not to expose his own hand and reveal his secret. These two letters are originals taken from the Queen's cabinet, the third is a copy by my correspondent. It is easy to see that these letters were dictated by a man of consequence, much in the confidence of the Pretender, and one of the chiefs of their party. You may, perhaps, gather some light through the jargon in it. I think it will be difficult to decipher it, unless my man can find the key; he has promised to try, and also to get the keys of the other cyphers employed by the Pretender's correspondents; he is likely to succeed as he is the brother of Mr. Higgons. I have promised him a considerable reward in case he can render considerable services to the King.

"I flatter myself His Majesty will approve of the promises I may make him. I shall try to extract from him all the service he can render in this country, and then he might be very useful in discovering the

intrigues of the Jacobites in England, provided his secret is well kept; I recommend it strongly to you, for in order that he may prove useful he must be well concealed."

APPENDIX E

"An account of what was in the 5 cases sent from Paris on 26 Sept. 1715, as by an inventory sent by Mr. Dicconson:—

Nos. 1 and 2.

All the plate is in Sir W. Ellis's custody except such pieces as have been taken out for the King or Queen's[1] service, for which said Sir W. Ellis has receipts.	In the two trunks marked No. 1 and No. 2 is all the plate belonging to the Scullery Back stairs and Pantry.

No. 3.

Sent to the Queen	The Toilette box in which is the Toilette plate.
1726, ye 25 Mar., in my custody	A collar of S.S. with diamond George.
Sent to the Queen	A little strong box in which is an ivory box representing the Passion.
Delivered to the Queen	An embroidered Tabby box in which is a silver chaplet, two aprons, and a silver key, said to be good for women with child.
Sent to the Queen	A little black Japan cellar.
Delivered to the Queen	A holy water pot garnished with stones.
" " "	An embroidered box with a St. Suaire.

No. 4.

Sent to the Queen	The Glasse belonging to the Toilette and the foot of the Toilette box dismounted.
Delivered to the Queen	An old picture of Our Lady.
	A little Japan box with 5 or 6 miniatures.
Delivered to the Queen	A box with 40 small etuys in to put gold in.
	Two etuys for necklaces.

[1] Clementina Sobieska in 1719.

Sent to the Queen	A little clock garnished with filagreen work.
25 Nov. 1726, now in my custody	The Great Seals.
Delivered to the King	A cellar inlayed with silver which belonged to K. Chas. II.
Delivered to the Queen	A crystal Pyramide in a case.
Sent to the King	A pair of shoes for the King.
Delivered to the Queen	Two round stands without their feet belonging to the Japan toilette.

No. 5.

Sent to the Queen	The Japan Toilette, where you will find the feet of the two stands above mentioned.

"An inventory of what was in the Strong box sent to Rome.

	In a little Shagreen box a ring with a single ruby.
	A ruby not set.
	A gold ring with little stones round it.
	A ring with a stone in shape of a heart with the P. of W. armes engraved on it.
	A plane gold ring.
	In a little embroidered box with gold lace upon it 3 lockets with death's heads set with Diamonds.
	A heart with a death's head.
	A little blew heart with a stone in the middle of it.
	A girdle with a spleen stone and a buckle.
With the Queen.	Two lockets for the arme, one a picture of the King, the other of the late Princesse.
	Two brown nobs we suppose some mediæval arms.
With the Queen.	A Turkie stone with Hen. the 4th of France his head upon it.
	An enamld heart.
	Another spleen stone.
	A locket with a dark stone set in gold.
	A head of the late K. of France in forme of a locket.
With the Queen.	Our Saviour's head.
" " "	A locket of the King when a child.
" " "	A rubie in form of a heart.
	A locket with a woman's head in a little velvet box with gold lace.
	A thing called *piere de cobre*, a little black stone.
	A locket set with little stones.
	In a little Japan box some of the late King's blood.
	A large stone set in gold.

APPENDIX E

With the Queen. A miniature of the late King set in Gold.
" " " Another of the present King.
" " " " " " late Princesse.
A bust of the late King.
" " " l'Abbé de la Trappe.
A medail of present King in deal box.
A St. George with a garter round him.
With the Queen. A miniature of the present King.
" " " A medail of him.
" " " A large medail of ye King and late Princesse.
2 steel seals with the Princesse head.
With the Queen. A pocket looking-glass.
In a large purse 13 pieces of Gold or medails.
Fourteen of a lesser size.
Fourteen old medails.
A half Jacobus.
With the Queen. A small miniature of the late King.
A copper medail of the King of Spain.
2 of ye King.
With the Queen. A crucifix ingraven in stone and set in gold.
A large silver medail of the late King when Duke of York.
An enameled picture of ye King when young.
A bust of the late King.
A stone called Pietra de variola.
A round Agat stone.
A Bezoar stone entire in a blew velvet box, one broke.
In a green velvet box an extraordinary stone.
A wooden Cross tipped with silver.
Several parcels of hair.
Another bust of Abbé de la Trappe.
A blew satin purse with Reliques which was found under the Queen's boulster.
A silver medail of Abbé de la Trappe.
A tortish shell snuff-box garnished with gold.
A silver reliquary with paper of instructions.
A silver watch with a tortoiseshell case.
A crucifix of Wood.
A gold watch left by the late King upon his death bed to his present Majesty.
A George sett with small diamonds.
A picture of King Chas. II. in miniature.
With the Queen. One of the Queen of Scots in miniature set in gold.
2 miniatures of the late Queen.

With the Queen. 2 miniatures of the late Princesse.
A large head in a Cornelian stone.
Two small seals, one silver and the other amber.
A purse wherein are 19 small seals.
An embroidered purse full of medals modern and antique.
A pair of gold buttons with hair.
Two parcells of the Princesses hair.
An enamelled George.
A silver crucifix in an Estuis.
A box with a cross and chain found in St. Edward's tomb in the year 1685.
As also a ruby ring which the late King wore at his coronation, and some part of his blood.
A brass crucifix in an estuis.

With the Queen. A miniature of the King which was sent from Italy.
The Queen's signet.
A little image of Our Lady, silver gilt.
A little perspective glass.

With the Queen. 2 miniatures of King Charles I.
" " " A miniature of King James I.
The seal which the Queen always used in an estuis, being cut in a diamond on Bristol stone.

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